

Michael
Harrington
on socialism

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Missile

U.S. missiles
banned under
the INF treaty
may be replaced by
European ones.

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reports

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And Haiti, too

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MD



Death-squad killings in El Salvador are on the rise, especially in conflict zones.

Can U.S. stop the death squads?

By Chris Norton

MELENDEZ, EL SALVADOR

Under the full moon, a half-dozen heavily armed men waited for the Melendez villagers to return from a celebration in the nearby town of San Jose Guayabal January 31. After checking the villagers' papers, the men selected three young men from the group, put them on the back of a truck and drove them away. The next day three bodies were found strewn in a hauntingly beautiful scenic overlook on the capital's outskirts. Called the *Puerta del Diablo*, the Devil's Doorway, it was formerly a favorite death-squad dumping site. The young men had been executed in classic death-squad fashion—blindfolded with their own shirts, hands tied behind their backs, shot through the head. The bodies showed signs of torture.

Except in several cases involving U.S. citizens, no members of the military-linked death squads have been prosecuted. And the killings, while down drastically from the height of death-squad activity in the early '80s, have never stopped. Now they appear to be on the rise again, espe-

cially in conflict zones, where the military has allegedly responded to an increased guerrilla presence by killing guerrillas and their suspected collaborators. In the last week of January three men were killed. A 16-year-old brickmaker was found with his shirt stuffed in his mouth and his throat slit; a friend of his was shot in the head while on the way to his job in a local sugar mill; and a man was killed and his retarded son abducted.

People have been so terrorized that they are afraid to report the killings, even to church human-rights groups. **The message of Devil's Doorway:** According to Maria Julia Hernandez of the Catholic Church's human-rights office, Tutela Legal, the events at Devil's Doorway marked a new phase in the killings. "They're doing it to send a message that it's the death squads," she said.

And in another new twist, the villagers easily identified some of the abductors as members of the military. Witnesses say two of the men were dressed in military uniforms but stood back in the shadows. Of the other four men in civilian clothes, villagers identified one as an ex-guerrilla, and another as a National Guardsman from San Jose Guayabal.

Public charges against the military have been an embarrassment, prompting the government to lament sanctimoniously and promise to investigate the killings. Still, top military officials insinuated that the killings were done by the guerrillas to "discredit" the army. President Jose Napoleon Duarte, who has increasingly sold himself to the military and the U.S. counterinsurgency project, chided the media for its willingness to believe leftist disinformation. And the U.S. Embassy, while acknowledging that killings have increased, officially attributed the increase to "killing of non-combatants by the communist guerrillas, and [reminiscent of Guatemala's excuses] a significant increase in criminal violence." Privately, however, the embassy acknowledged military involvement, but called it an "aberration" limited to the First Brigade.

But most independent observers say abuses are widespread. Killings and abductions in outlying working-class and marginal districts of the capital have risen dramatically. Inside the city, a local newspaper reported, "the kidnapping of people has begun again, especially of young people who are violently removed from their homes at midnight or in the early morning and are never seen again by their families."

Pedagogy of terror: The basic reason for the increasing killings seems to be the military's deepening frustration with their inability to defeat the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas, who appear to be preparing for a major offensive. With army intelli-

gence aware of the FMLN's increasing activities, which include the formation of urban cells, one Salvadoran analyst said that for the army, "pre-emptive strikes are absolutely necessary [to] contain the pedagogy of terror."

Also responsible for the army's increasing hard line are:

- Disenchantment with U.S.-style low-intensity warfare and U.S. concern about human rights;
- Disappointment with President Duarte, who, while able to assure massive U.S. funding of the war, hasn't been able to unify the highly polarized country around the war effort, as the army hoped;
- The brief return of Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) rebel leaders Ruben Zamora and Guillermo Ungo in November, during which they refused to renounce their ties with the FMLN (see *In These Times*, Dec. 23);
- General nervousness about the Arias regional peace plan, which they view as allowing the Sandinistas to stay in power; and
- Duarte's broad November amnesty of all political

INSIDE STORY

prisoners, which chiefly benefitted the military-linked death squads responsible for most of the more than 50,000 political killings since 1979.

Out of control: Other aspects of the worsening situation also concern human-rights groups. There have been reports of prisoner abuse during initial detention. One victim died soon after detention because of injuries he had sustained while being tortured.

Military pressure on international volunteers has also increased. The army forced one Spanish doctor to leave, and sent a letter to the archbishop on January 8 asking him to restrict foreign religious volunteers working in conflict zones. Many observers fear that removing foreigners would decrease the number of witnesses and end a conduit of information about abuses in remote areas.

There has been increased harassment of Catholic refugee camps as well. In early January troops encircled the Calle Real camp for a week, then on January 16 forced their way in and tried to remove 20 wounded guerrillas brought there by the International Red Cross. The next night troops opened fire on the camp for two hours, wounding one man seriously.

While U.S. pressure helped force an improvement in human rights in late 1983, many analysts said the army no longer feels constrained. "The army is convinced that no matter what they do the U.S. won't cut off military aid," said one Latin American ambassador. "They think that at worst the U.S. would cut aid for a couple of months but that in the end the U.S. needs the Salvadoran army too much to suspend aid permanently."

Chris Norton is *In These Times'* correspondent in El Salvador.

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A slow start

Four weeks ago, we issued our annual \$125,000 fund appeal. As of last week, we had received only \$15,774 from some 444 subscribers, plus 20 new sustainers, who have pledged another \$2,604 for the year. This is an extremely slow start. As always, we operate on a thin margin. Without a substantial response to our appeal, we will be in debilitating trouble. We do not like having to beg for money, but the only alternative is to stop publishing. We don't want to do that, and we hope you don't want us to. But if you want us to keep on keeping on, you've got to help us—now. So please send us your tax-deductible check today. Send us the largest amount you can, but in any case send something. Checks should be made out to the Institute for Public Affairs, and mailed to 1300 West Belmont Ave., Chicago IL 60657. And remember, *In These Times* does not publish next week. We'll be back March 9.

Senate hearings show U.S. was Gen. Noriega's partner in crime

By Jim Naureckas and Peter Shinkle

FOR THE PAST MONTH, AMERICANS HAVE BEEN bombarded with media reports of the crimes of Gen. Manuel Noriega, Panama's unelected chief. Sen. John Kerry's (D-MA) foreign relations subcommittee, taking the testimony two weeks ago of some of Noriega's closest associates, unearthed further proof of the general's involvement in drugs, arms traffic and murder. But the media have chosen to downplay or ignore the witnesses' most shocking revelation: for years the U.S. government tolerated or even participated in Noriega's crimes.

The U.S. has used Noriega's Panama to pursue the Reagan administration's own favorite crime, the illegal contra war against Nicaragua. The U.S. campaign against Noriega, which began two years ago and culminated with an indictment on February 5, was motivated less by disgust with Noriega's corruption than by his failure to be a sufficiently subservient accomplice.

Noriega's relationship with the U.S. can be traced to the early '70s, when he headed his country's intelligence service. According to the U.S. ambassador to Panama from 1974 to 1978, William Jordan, Noriega was then on the CIA's payroll, reportedly earning \$200,000 a year.

The CIA may have even brought Noriega to power. In 1986 his former second-in-command, Col. Roberto Diaz Herrera, accused him of helping the CIA kill Gen. Omar Torrijos. The charismatic Torrijos ruled Panama until his August 1981 death in a suspicious helicopter crash. Although Diaz's charges have never been proven, the Reagan administration despised Torrijos for his support for Salvadoran rebels and negotiation of the Panama Canal treaty.

Torrijos' death made Noriega the number-two power in Panama, behind Gen. Ruben Paredes. But Noriega's CIA connections seem to have helped him move to the top. In February 1983 Paredes complained to the U.S. ambassador about unauthorized contacts between U.S. intelligence and Panamanian military officers; by August, Noriega had taken over Paredes' job.

Contra collaborator: Noriega proved a valuable ally for the Reagan administration, allowing Panama to serve as both an intelligence station and a resupply base for the contras beginning in 1983. According to the subcommittee testimony of Jose Bandon, who was Noriega's long-time political adviser, the general also turned his country into a contra training camp. Bandon told the subcommittee that he attended a June 1985 meeting on Noriega's yacht during which the general agreed to Lt. Col. Oliver North's request to let the rebels train at Panamanian bases.

Noriega also allowed Gen. Richard Secord to set up Panama-based front companies, which funneled Iranian arms-sale money to the contras. According to Bandon, in October 1985 Noriega even promised North that he would send his own elite troops to help the contras in Costa Rica. In the Iran-contra committee's final report there is an allusion

to an anti-Nicaraguan "sabotage plan" proposed to North by a "third party" (later revealed to be Panama); apparently this was the same offer mentioned by Bandon. North told the committee that the National Security Council (NSC) had approved the plan, with the exception of proposed assassinations, but had been unable to implement it before North's dismissal.

Bill Day



Panama under Gen. Noriega

Haiti rulers tied to coke, contras

By Anne-christine d'Adesky

MIAMI

AS THE ONGOING POLITICAL SCANDAL BREWS around Panamanian Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega over his alleged drug trafficking activities, a similar regional drug plot is surfacing in Haiti. Like the Noriega network (see accompanying story), the Haitian cocaine connection apparently involves Colombians, Cubans and Miami-based Americans, who have been using Haiti as a principal refueling and transshipment point for smuggling drugs and, it appears, arms.

More important, the Haitian drug cartel involves senior Haitian military officials who have allegedly opened Haiti up to smugglers of all stripes. Like Panama, Haiti has become, in the words of one ex-trafficker, "a smuggler's haven."

According to U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) and congressional investigators, when Jean-Claude Duvalier was dictator his relatives in the Bennett family were trafficking drugs through Haiti. Duvalier's brother-in-law, Ernest Bennett, was a major cocaine trafficker, a DEA source said. According to one congressional source, "The Haitian military took over the drug franchise when the Bennetts left" after Duvalier fell from power in February 1986. Despite a recent presidential election, the military is still in control of the country.

Suspects in high places: The prime suspect in an ongoing federal grand jury probe here into Haitian trafficking is Haitian Col. Jean-Claude Paul, the powerful police chief of the Casernes Dessalines barracks in Port-au-Prince. Paul owns a ranch with a private airstrip 90 miles from the Haitian capital that

Perhaps Noriega's most bizarre role in the contra operation was his alleged involvement in a 1986 North scheme to frame the Sandinistas with a phony arms shipment to the Salvadoran rebels. Prior to the Kerry subcommittee hearing Bandon told investigators and reporters about North's plan, but then backed away from the charges, apparently under Reagan administration pressure.

Cocaine connection: In return for his initiative on the contra issue, Noriega received favors from the Reagan administration. Bandon reported that the CIA passed Noriega personal information about the general's enemies in Congress, specifically Sen.

Edward Kennedy (D-MA), Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) and their staffs.

But the most important help the administration gave Noriega was ignoring his enormous cocaine empire. Noriega's drug ties were so well known that in 1972 the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs considered having him assassinated, according to a 1978 Senate Intelligence Committee report. But until recently no action was taken against Noriega, who counted on powerful friends like CIA Director William Casey to protect him.

Noriega's drug operation was described to the Kerry subcommittee by Ramon Milian-Rodriguez, a convicted money launderer for the powerful cocaine cartel based in Medellin, Colombia. In 1979, Milian-Rodriguez testified, Noriega reached an accord with the Medellin cartel that gave the Colombians free access to Panamanian airspace, as well as credit on drug money deposited in Panamanian banks and intelligence on U.S. drug-interdiction efforts. Thanks to Noriega's help, Milian-Rodriguez said, "Every American agent in Medellin was known."

Within a few years, Milian-Rodriguez said, the Colombia-Panama operation was exporting \$200 million worth of cocaine into Miami each month. Milian-Rodriguez also said that he was responsible for giving Noriega his share of the action, which totalled \$320 million to \$350 million. Although Milian-Rodriguez was indicted by the U.S. in 1983—he claims he was double-crossed by Noriega—he said he was later asked to distribute more

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has served as a central cocaine stop for the smugglers, according to U.S. drug investigators.

Yet testimony by sources close to the Paul investigation say that the police chief has not acted alone. On the contrary, Haiti's highest military officials—including ex-junta leader Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, present defense minister Brig. Gen. Williams Regala and chief of narcotics Maj. Carel Occel—are said to be involved in the drugs and arms affair. So far, the DEA has declined to comment on the status of the pending indictment against Paul. Nor will it reveal if other Haitian officials are being targeted by the grand jury.

"It appears that Paul has regularly engaged in the transshipment of cocaine in Haiti," a top DEA source told *In These Times* last month. "He is dealing with Colombians and making all the arrangements," he added. Speaking under anonymity, the source said the drug smugglers were using Paul's ranch and airstrip as a transshipment point.

The DEA's investigation into Paul's alleged drug activities began in January 1987, shortly after the DEA arrested Paul's ex-wife Mireille Delininois in Miami on charges of cocaine trafficking. "Paul is said to have arranged that (operation)," the DEA source said. At that time, another trafficker, Oswaldo Quintana, 35, a Havana-born American, was also arrested. Quintana agreed to become a DEA informant against Paul and his cronies in exchange for immunity from prosecution. So far, Quintana has taken more than 40 polygraph tests in conjunction with his DEA testimony. He has also supplied U.S. officials with his tape-recorded conversations with Haitians trafficking cocaine, according to Quintana's lawyer, Miami attorney Ellis Rubin.

In a February 2 interview with *In These Times*, Quintana said, "I personally loaded the cocaine on to the plane at the airstrip at Jean-Claude Paul's ranch in December 1986. A private U.S. pilot flew the cocaine to Abaco Island in the Bahamas." Quintana said that although he only worked with "Cubans and Americans" and Paul's men, "I know there were Colombians involved in the trafficking."

Quintana could not legally comment on what he's told the grand jury about Namphy and Regala's possible involvement in cocaine smuggling. But a source close to the situation maintained that both ex-junta leaders were involved. And Rubin added, "I have it from [another] reliable source that they [Namphy and Regala] were involved." Rubin said his source was an insider who had been directly involved in the trafficking.

Quintana told reporters recently that he had once seen 9,000 kilos of cocaine stored in army bags in the presidential palace. He said cocaine was also stored in army bags in a mobile home at Paul's airstrip. "The drug traffic has increased over the past two years," said the top DEA source, adding, "Haiti is so loosely regulated that it is a favorite spot" for smugglers.

The other side of Haiti's smuggling connection is arms. While the exact nature and scope of illegal arms trafficking is unknown, congressional investigators say they are aware that small shipments of Israeli-made Uzi machine guns have been entering Haiti from South Florida's black market in recent months. Joel Deeb, a Haitian facing arms trafficking charges, testified in a Miami courtroom that the Haitian military has been involved in the illegal buying and selling of weapons from Miami to Haiti. An inside source said Deeb was working for Paul.

A top DEA source said that "the Colom-

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By Jim Naureckas

Truth in campaigning

Dick Gephardt trying to raise money for his New Hampshire bid: "The campaign that wins is the one that networks the fund-raising better than anyone else." Jack Kemp, on George Bush's appropriation of John Lennon: "That is embarrassing, to have a Republican talking about 'give peace a chance.'"

Pat answers

People for the American Way, the Washington-based constitutional rights group, has compiled a list of Pat Robertson's positions from his speeches, writings and 700 Club broadcasts. Robertson on the separation of powers: "I don't think the Congress of the United States is subservient to the courts... They can ignore a Supreme Court ruling if they so choose." On education: "The humanism that is being taught in our schools, media and intellectual circles will ultimately lead people to the Antichrist, because he will be the consummate figure of humanism." On the Soviets: "God will destroy Russia through earthquakes, volcanoes, etc."

Shop if you like Reagan

A recent *Advertising Age* poll found that "people pleased with the president's performance are... more inclined to go out and buy all kinds of consumer goods." Respondents who approved of the job he was doing were 25 percent more likely to be planning to buy furniture in 1988, 36 percent more likely to be planning to buy carpeting and 38 percent more likely to be planning to buy a house.

Meet the press

To cope with growing reports of his ties to shady businessmen, House Speaker Jim Wright has hired a special spokesman. But the spokesman, George Mair, has succeeded only in drawing more bad publicity, according to *The Texas Observer*. Mair, a former newspaper editor and author of *The Sex-Book Digest: A Peek Between the Covers of 113 of the Most Erotic, Exotic, and Edifying Sex Books*, has sent off blistering letters to national publications accusing them of "inneundo [sic]," "plagerism [sic]," and "shoddy strawman bull-puppy." Mair shows some understanding of the news business, however. He wrote to *Newsweek* that he knows the magazine "is in a circulation and advertising fight for its survival and that you're having to hype your sagging publication with stories on bra museums, angels of death and semi-nude female movie stars."

Trash heap of history

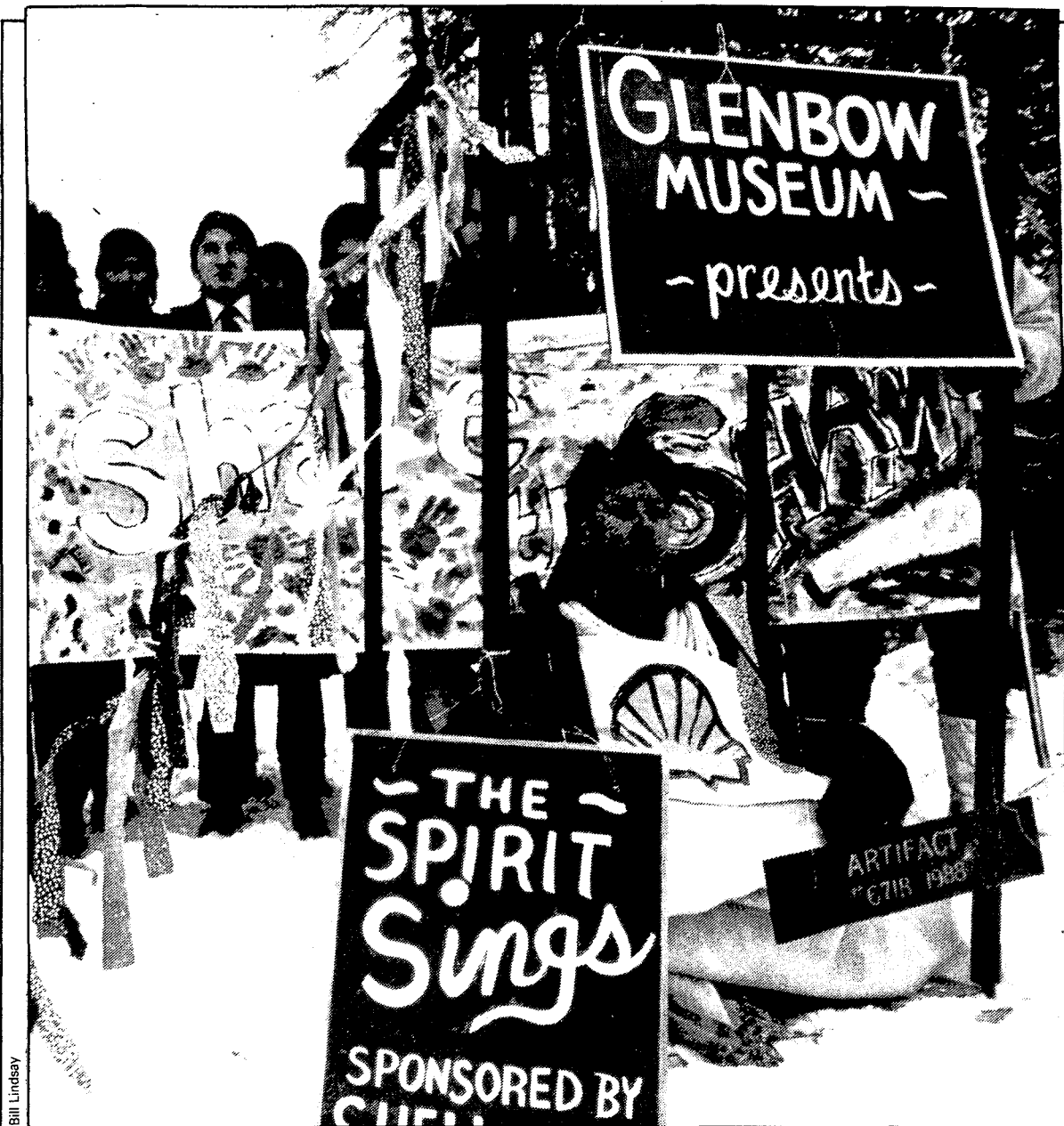
New York City is considering an ordinance that would require garbage collectors to establish a system for separating out recyclable waste. The proposal would mandate that at least 25 percent of trash be recycled by 1992. New York Attorney General Robert Abrams, testifying in favor of the bill, pointed out that at least one-quarter of the nation's solid waste was recycled during World War II. Said Abrams: "The hard reality is that by the end of the day, New York City will have created 27,000 tons of garbage, including Styrofoam and plastic packaging that will remain on this earth hundreds of years after we are gone. We can and must reduce the quantity of our garbage and recycle the garbage we do throw away. Frankly, I don't think we have any choice."

Peace numbers

More than 5,300 North Americans were arrested for anti-nuclear civil disobedience in 1987, according to *The Nuclear Register*, a peace movement newsletter. An increase over recent years, the figure equals the record number of arrests made in 1983, the year medium-range missiles were installed in Europe. The number was inflated somewhat by the massive protests at the Nevada test site; 746 people were arrested there in one day, and Nevada accounted for nearly half of all 1987 arrests. About 400 of the arrests involved nuclear power, and 95 were from Canada.

What's bad for America...

...is good for the Pentagon, according to a Defense Department report released last year. "Today, the kind of jobs with good economic futures that were available to a young high school



Native Canadian artist Rebecca Belmore protests the Olympic Arts Festival by turning herself into an exhibit. The arts festival's display of native artifacts, "The Spirit Sings," has drawn fire because it is sponsored by the same oil companies (like Shell Canada) that have taken land rights away from Indians. Other native Canadians back up her demonstration, held in Thunder Bay, Ontario; the banner in the background reads "share the shame."

The Olympic spirit doesn't sing for Indians

"The spirit sings for Glenbow, the spirits sing for the Olympics, but most of all, the spirit sings for the native people of Canada," said David Tavender, chairman of Calgary's Glenbow Museum.

On January 14, he was opening "The Spirit Sings," the centerpiece of the winter Olympics' arts festival. Many of Canada's and the Olympic community's prominent people were on hand to celebrate this remarkable show of artifacts by Canada's native people.

But the assembled dignitaries faced a demonstration organized by the leaders of these very same native people. More than 100 Indians had come to Calgary, Alberta, to protest the exhibition and lend support to a small band of Indians, the Lubicon, who for almost 50 years have been unable to settle their claim to oil-rich land in northern Alberta.

One Indian leader, Woody Morrison, a Haida from British Columbia, responded to Tavender's remarks: "In Haida, when the spirit sings, it means we are spiritually in balance. But in this case, we would say, my spirit hurts, it hurts so bad that it can't be contained in one body."

Canada's native leaders are upset because many objects on display at the Glenbow have religious signifi-

cance. They say native people still own those artifacts and only native people have the right to say how they should be used. Moreover, they say that most of these objects were taken from Canada's native people without their consent. The Lubicon decided in April 1986 to try to use the Winter Olympic Games in Calgary to call attention to their plight. They wrote letters to museums all over the world, asking them not to loan any artifacts to "The Spirit Sings." Bernard Ominayak, the Lubicon band's chief, told *In These Times* that 26 museums had boycotted the Glenbow exhibition.

But the exhibit's director, Duncan Cameron, says only 12 museums joined the boycott and that he was able to collect more than enough objects without them. Still, Cameron was bitter over the Lubicon campaign. "This is the first instance I can recall where there has been this degree of politicization of international museum relations," he said. "Normally, museums have managed to carry on their scholarly and educational work above and beyond the political wars fought by others."

For the Indians, however, this is precisely the issue. What good is a stunning exhibition like "The Spirit Sings" when it ignores the squalid everyday life of the native people. Today there are fewer than 500 Lubicon Indians, who live in shacks without running water. Ten percent have tuberculosis. Their hunting and trap-

ping way of life is dead, the moose and elk having almost disappeared from the band's erstwhile hunting grounds, replaced by pumpjacks sucking oil from the ground.

The Lubicon don't benefit from the oil development because they don't own the land, despite a half-century of attempts at negotiation. The deadlock prompted the band to use Calgary's Olympics to pressure the Canadian government to settle the Lubicon's claims.

Ominayak says that is only fair. After all, the government and many oil companies are sponsoring the games for their own public relations purposes. (An oil-man, Frank King, heads the organizing committee). "The oil development and the Alberta government, they take all the resources out and leave nothing behind for the people but welfare," Ominayak says. "And here they are, organizing these games. And they are trying to show to the international world how great a people they are. It's time the native people start telling the real stories and expose these people as to who they are."

The Lubicon have asked other Indian bands to help stage protests at the Olympics, especially targeting "The Spirit Sings." As the gathering of Indian leaders at the exhibition's opening showed, Canada's native people have taken up the call. The Mohawk Indians from Quebec have been especially active, both on behalf of the Lubicon and of Mohawk

sacramental artifacts displayed at the Glenbow, including a sacred mask.

Billy Two Rivers, a Mohawk leader from Quebec, said that he was going to court to prevent the sacred mask from being shown to the public: "What we are saying, and what we are declaring, and what we are demanding, is the immediate return of this false face and other spiritual artifacts that are in this display."

Christic Institute attacked by right and not-so-right

This month's issue of *Mother Jones* features a cover story on Danny Sheehan of the Christic Institute. That's the Washington-based public interest law firm that has entered into a legal fire fight with the band of covert operatives the institute claims was behind the 1984 attempted assassination of renegade contra leader Eden Pastora.

An ostensibly left publication like *Mother Jones* might be expected to support the institute's lawsuit. But the article, written by James Traub of the yuppie-oriented *Spy* magazine, is a superficial *ad hominem* attack that focuses on Sheehan's flamboyant personal style and religious beliefs, then equates Sheehan with the institute.

The story's tone tips the reader off. The Christic Institute's neighborhood, a black business district, is described as a slum. Underfunded progressive organizations are "yapping spaniels," Sheehan is compared to Captain Ahab, and he wears a tie that "tells the '80s to go to hell." Some tie.

The Christic suit, based on federal racketeering statutes, is supported by a lengthy affidavit detailing a 20-year conspiracy to violate U.S. and international law. The affidavit covers covert actions from Cuba to Southeast Asia to Nicaragua. Against this document Traub rallies a cadre of "journalists, experts, Capitol Hill investigators and former CIA agents" who dispute its validity.

Who are these Christic bashers? An anonymous intelligence "expert" and a "Capitol Hill investigator" both offer no substantive criticisms of the affidavit. As for journalists, *The Wall Street Journal's* Jonathan Kwitny compares Christic supporters to "LaRouchites" but again cites no concrete disagreements. The article cites WBAI radio's Dennis Bernstein as a critic, but Bernstein says his words were both misquoted and taken out of context.

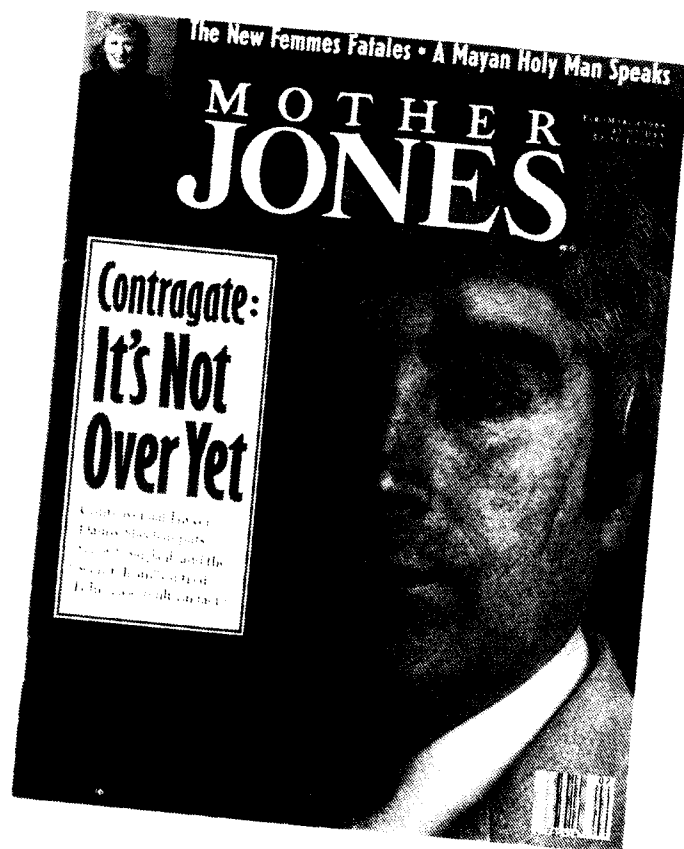
Certainly the journalist most directly connected with the story is Tony Avirgan, the television cameraman on whose behalf the suit was brought. Avirgan, who was nearly killed by the Pastora bombing, says that Traub talked to him once and was so "demanding and hostile" that Avirgan finally hung up on him. (Traub disputes this, calling his conversation with Avirgan "amiable.")

An Alberta court ordered the mask removed from the exhibit while a hearing was held, though it was returned to display when the court ruled that ownership must be decided in Toronto, where the Royal Ontario Museum regularly displays the object.

The museum's arguments for displaying the mask are narrowly technical and legal, missing the larger issue the Indians have raised. The

Winter Olympics in Calgary, sponsored in part by the same oil companies that have reaped enormous profits from land taken from the Indians have become an ugly symbol of injustice. While museum officials look upon "The Spirit Sings" as art for art's sake, Canada's native people cannot separate their art from their life, and the Olympics cannot be divorced from historical and social reality.

—Reto Pieth



Avirgan says, "Certainly there's room for constructive criticism of Danny and the lawsuit, but this sort of bad journalism makes that impossible."

Finally, the story cites former intelligence officers who supposedly disagree with Sheehan and his affidavit. Ralph McGehee is described as throwing away the document after reading a few pages, so we can't presume to know what he disagrees with. There is John Stockwell, whose disagreements appear to be more tactical than substantive, though again, the quotes attributed to him are so broad it would be difficult for a supporter of the institute to respond to them. Finally, there is David MacMichael, the former CIA analyst who is now the Christic Institute's chief investigator.

According to MacMichael, Sheehan acknowledges a number of technical inaccuracies in the affidavit, which is under revision. For example, Sheehan originally said that 100,000 people were killed in the Phoenix assassination program in Vietnam, and MacMichael says 40,000 is probably a better figure. But as he told *In These Times*, "My goodness, that's a lot of people to knock off in any case."

As Traub's article notes, MacMichael also disputes the importance of drugs to funding the secret war in Laos, but MacMichael grants that drugs were indeed a crucial element in the conflict, something Traub doesn't acknowledge.

MacMichael says he wants the Southeast Asia sections of Sheehan's affidavit removed, not because they're wrong, but because they'll be difficult to prove in court and are peripheral to the Pastora bombing. As for the Traub article, MacMichael describes it as "a hatchet job" that inaccurately portrays a rift between him and Sheehan.

"Look," says MacMichael, "if people want this sort of thing they can read the December issue of *Defense and Diplomacy*," referring to an article by spymaster Ted Shackley, a Christic suit defendant, attacking Sheehan and company. MacMichael laughingly reads a section where Shackley lashes out at "the malevolent affidavit-hurling Christic Institute."

Mother Jones senior editor Bernard Ohanian defends the Traub article as "fair and comprehensive." This sentiment is surely shared by the former military and intelligence officers fighting the institute. Gen. John K. Singlaub, also a defendant, recently said of the Christic Institute, "If I were back in Vietnam in a fire fight, then I'd ask for an air strike to blow the bastards away." And as we now know from the Iran-contra hearings, fellow defendant Gen. Richard Secord spent \$60,000 trying to discredit the institute, which leads Traub to remark that "the Christic Institute must be doing something right." Pity he doesn't say what it is.

—Richard Ryan

graduate have become fewer," writes Pentagon consultant Michael Laurence. "The services can, however, use the results of deindustrialization to their advantage." The "Youth Attitude Tracking Study," discussed in the current issue of *The Anti-Draft* newsletter, also notes that teenage male interest in joining the military tends to closely follow teenage male unemployment.

The houseguest threat

When San Diego Mayor Maureen O'Connor came up with the idea of hosting a Soviet-American Arts festival, she thought placing the visiting Soviet performers in private homes would be a step toward international understanding. But according to the *Los Angeles Times*, "The FBI is worried that is just the kind of thing that will draw spies bent on befriending and cultivating residents for espionage purposes." FBI Special Agent Bob Harman told the *Times*, "When people know they are going to be entertaining a Soviet, we would appreciate a call...We're obviously going to be asking them questions to determine whether or not they're in an intelligence situation."

Electronic censorship

Dun & Bradstreet has decided that the information age is not for labor organizations. Last year the company, which compiles and sells corporate financial data, declared its computer data base off limits to unions and other undesirables. While the material is still available to unions in non-electronic form, research using electronic information is far easier for unions engaged in bargaining with their employers. Labor lawyer Marvin Hrubes told *The Democratic Communique* newsletter that Dun & Bradstreet is violating the National Labor Relations Act and state laws that "prohibit businesses from refusing to supply their products to organizations simply because those organizations represent union members."

Bomb-shelter potato

A letter to *TV Guide*: "If we get involved in a nuclear war, would the electromagnetic pulse from exploding bombs damage my videotapes?"

Cross-continental clout

The National Park Service didn't expect the condemnation of a 10-acre lot in California's Santa Monica Mountains to be a national issue. But George Dunne Jr. owns the property, and George Dunne Sr., chairman of the Cook County, Ill., Democratic Party, has some powerful friends. One friend is Rep. Sidney Yates (D-IL), who chairs the subcommittee responsible for the park service budget. After talking to Dunne Jr., Yates cut the allocation for buying land in the Santa Monicas from \$11 million to \$1 million, and inserted language in the bill that makes it impossible for the park service to condemn the Dunne property. Dunne Jr. is "a friend of mine," Yates explained to the *Los Angeles Times*, and he "was being dealt with unfairly."

Women priests

Pope John Paul II justifies the Catholic Church's ban on female priests by pointing out that priests were always men in the early church. But Catholic novelist Walter Murphy thinks the Pope doesn't have his facts straight. In an interview with *National Catholic Reporter*, Murphy says evidence that women celebrated mass is found in the apocryphal Gospels—those books of the Bible the early church decided not to include in the official version. Furthermore, according to Murphy, "[Roman historian] Pliny the Younger writes to the emperor about Christians and tells him that women are their ministers....Pliny was nobody's fool. He was a very literate, intelligent man who wrote careful reports. He had evidence that he had obtained from these women through torture. And since they were facing death for being Christians, it doesn't seem that it would have been in their best interests to pretend to be more important Christians than they were."

Smoke in safety

When Lorillard, Inc., introduced Kent cigarettes in 1952, it promised that its unique "Micronite" filter provided "the greatest health protection in cigarette history." The magic ingredient in this "pure, dust-free, completely harmless material": asbestos.

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

What was the most positive development in the first phase of the presidential campaign?

Other than the Rev. Pat Robertson's strong showing, it was Rep. Richard Gephardt's win in Iowa. There, Gephardt ran a neo-populist campaign that blamed "established interests" (including multinational corporations and Wall Street speculators) along with unfair South Korean and Japanese trade practices for the nation's economic ills. Gephardt was supported by the white, male low-income and socially conservative blue-collar voters who had deserted the Democrats during the last two presidential elections. Indeed, Gephardt ran strongest in those areas of Iowa where Reagan did best in 1984. Gephardt repeated this showing in New Hampshire, winning a majority of self-proclaimed conservative and blue-collar Democrats in towns like Manchester and Berlin.

But wasn't his appeal based on a combination of racism, protectionism and national chauvinism?

This charge—echoed by everyone from Jesse Jackson aides to *Washington Post* columnist Hobart Rowen—bodes ill for the Democrats' ability to build on what Gephardt did in Iowa.

First, it is a fact that Japan and South Korea have discouraged American imports and dumped their own exports at below cost on the U.S. market. These countries are pursuing a neo-mercantilist strategy at the expense of other trading powers, including the U.S. This is not grounds for war, but it is grounds for tough negotiation, which is what Gephardt is calling for.

Second, the Gephardt amendment to last year's House trade bill is not classic protectionism. It uses the threat of retaliation to force open markets; its goal is not to constrict imports, but to encourage exports. Pat Choate and Juyne Linger make this point in the Jan.-Feb. *Harvard Business Review*: "U.S. policymakers must be sophisticated enough to discern the difference between closing U.S. markets to avoid foreign competition and threatening to close them as a device to open foreign markets."

The trade issue's patriotic appeal is one of its greatest assets. In the 1980 election the Republicans successfully focused American fears on the nation's military inferiority. The Democrats now have a chance to change the terrain of politics: to focus on the nation's underlying and real economic weakness rather than upon its purely imagined military weakness.

But don't the Democrats need more than the trade issue?

Absolutely. To regain a national majority in presidential elections, the Democrats have to hold on to what they already have—blacks, Jews, and a slim majority of union members—and add two crucial constituencies. They must regain the white working-class voters they lost to Reagan both times; Gephardt did this in Iowa with his populist trade appeal. And they must win a majority of the new white-collar, middle-class constituency that backed Sen. Gary Hart in 1984 in the primary, but defected to Reagan in the general election.

In Iowa and New Hampshire, Gephardt was as incapable of reaching these "new collar" voters as Gov. Michael Dukakis or Sen. Paul

Gephardt's neo-populism appeals to blue-collar vote



Gephardt's attack on multinational corporations was inspired by Jesse Jackson's message.

Simon were of reaching socially conservative blue-collar Democrats. At one upscale Des Moines caucus, for instance, Gephardt didn't even have enough supporters to win a single delegate. His small bank of supporters were divvied up among Dukakis, Simon and Babbitt delegates. The Democrats have to find a way to unite these voters.

Is there an issue that could unite both the Gephardt and Dukakis Democrats?

It is easier to say which issues won't work. Focussing on foreign policy, whether arms

long-term threat to the country's future. And when a factory in Dubuque moves to Singapore, it doesn't only threaten workers in that industry, but the range of services that sustain it. The case can be made—as Stephen Cohen and John Zysman did in their recent book *Manufacturing Matters*—that the issues Gephardt raised in Iowa are as important to a software designer on Route 128 as they are to a laid-off autoworker in Flint.

In 1988 the Democrats could do with the trade gap what John Kennedy did in 1960 with the imagined missile gap. It didn't matter whether the missile gap could lead immediately to war or defeat. Kennedy was able to convince the voters that it was the kind of long-term disability that the country could not countenance. In 1988 the Democrats have to make the same patriotic case for the nation's trade deficit and declining industry.

Is there any Democratic candidate besides Gephardt that could make this economic case?

Among the current candidates there doesn't appear to be. Dukakis has been a bust as a campaigner. He hasn't been able to use his formidable experience in Massachusetts using government as the catalyst for equitable economic growth to fashion a national economic message. Instead, he ran on contra opposition in Iowa and stopping Seabrook in New Hampshire. When he talks about economic issues, he sounds, in *Washington Post* reporter Sidney Blumenthal's words, as if he were running for governor of the U.S.

Jackson is running a remarkable campaign, focussing on economic rather than racial injustice. In 1984 many Southern whites backed Reagan and other Republicans in part because they feared Jackson's influence in the Democratic party. This year

pollster Stanley Greenberg, surveying white voters in Mississippi, found surprisingly high approval for Jackson. This time around these voters will be less likely to back a Republican just because of Jackson's visibility. But they are not yet ready to vote for Jackson.

Jackson's economic message is even clearer than Gephardt's. Indeed, Jackson appears to have inspired Gephardt's attack against multinational corporations. Even more than Gephardt's, Jackson's message has focussed exclusively on the poor and unemployed. He is still campaigning as the candidate of the dispossessed and disinherited rather than of the great working majority.

Is the Democratic nominee likely to emerge from the Super Tuesday primaries?

No. In fact, Super Tuesday could provide the pretext for other candidates entering the race. In the South, for instance, Dukakis and Gephardt will probably divide the big states—Dukakis is strongest in Florida and Gephardt in Texas—while Jackson will win several Deep South states and Sen. Al Gore at least Tennessee. And Dukakis, Gephardt and Jackson—and Simon if he is still in the race—could divide up Illinois on March 15. In that case, there will be a stalemate.

If the three leading candidates each have roughly a third of the delegates after Illinois, with more than half the delegates selected, then to get a majority one candidate would have to get about 75 percent of the remaining delegates—a virtual impossibility. At this point, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo or New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley could enter the race in the expectation that by winning some of the late industrial state primaries, they could present themselves as the choice of a brokered convention. Last month Bradley took an important step in this direction by opposing contra aid. If he had not he would have been picketed at every campaign stop.

Will it be good for the Democrats if Cuomo or Bradley enter the race?

Not necessarily, since it would be so late in the campaign. For instance, it took Gephardt almost a year to develop a message, and Dukakis still hasn't. It is hard to improvise on the fly. If the Democrats have to choose a candidate at the convention, whoever it is will face formidable obstacles developing a fall campaign.

Don't the Republicans face similar problems?

Yes. After Vice President George Bush's win in New Hampshire, they look like they are in for an equally long and considerably more divisive campaign. Robertson could pose special difficulties for the Republicans—the kind that Jackson created for Democrats in 1984. For a preview, look at what happened to Virginia's Republican Party after the Rev. Jerry Falwell entered politics there. In 1980, before Falwell became active, Virginia was the Republicans' strongest state in the South. Now it has gone back in the Democratic column—with a Democratic administration and a lock on one of two Senate seats. Its Republican Party, split between fundamentalists and regulars, is in ruins. The same thing is happening now to Michigan and Indiana's Republican Parties, and the same thing could happen nationally.

Bush's victory in New Hampshire also bodes well for the Democrats. He is handicapped by the Iran-contra scandal, and with his upper-class airs, he is an inviting target for a class-oriented economic campaign. □

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control or opposition to contra aid, will split rather than unite the Democrats. Most blue-collar Democrats oppose contra aid out of indifference rather than out-of commitment to international law, and if the issue is framed in terms of fighting communism, they will take the Republican side. Focussing on economic and social compassion—whether in the form of aid to the homeless or a Simon-style jobs bill—will also divide Democrats by conjuring an unpopular image of government handouts. The Democrats can take strong positions on these issues, but to win in November, they can't base their campaign on them, as Dukakis and Simon did in Iowa.

To unite their potential majority, the Democrats have to find a way of appealing to voters' economic self-interest. The trade issue may do this if it is framed in general terms of industrial decline. The trade deficit is not just about losing jobs, but about the

By Ann Davis

CONCORD, N.H.

NEW HAMPSHIRE'S POLITICAL CIRCUS HAS once again come and gone, allowing the state in those brief weeks to assume a level of importance totally disproportionate to its stature in the nation. New Hampshire has done its duty, "winnowing" the candidates (this year's favorite buzzword) for the rest of the country. Those with money go on. Those without, go home.

Reporters this year have had the most trouble assessing the candidacy of televangelist Pat Robertson. Robertson's invisible army is playing a game of peek-a-boo: now it's here, now it's gone. It surfaced in Michigan and Iowa, it dematerialized in New Hampshire.

But the media will undoubtedly find it again in the South. With only 30,000 evangelicals in New Hampshire, the state was not fertile ground to spread the Good News of God's choice for president.

Whistling Dixie: As the nation turns to Super Tuesday, Robertson remains a threat of unknown proportions. The number of southern evangelicals is a very fuzzy figure. David E. Harrell, a history professor at the University of Alabama who just completed a biography of Robertson, said that depending on the definition, three-quarters of the South could be termed evangelical.

There are at least 12 million people who are Southern Baptist, Robertson's affiliation. Yet he is theologically closer to the charismatic and Pentecostal movements, which have some of the largest and least-identified churches. Adding in Jerry Falwell-style fundamentalists and evangelicals who have joined mainstream churches, the total number of people who consider themselves born-again Christians may be as high as 50 to 60 million, Harrell said.

"There are a variety of conservative religious constituencies in the South who don't theologically agree with him, but they'll support him," he said. "He has a great potential for reaching out to other intrinsically conservative constituencies in the South, which will add to a very formidable Pentecostal base."

"I think he will win a Southern primary and could win more than one. He is certainly going to come out of the South with some delegate support."

Not to be dismissed: Robertson is a little short on that score now, with a mere 8 delegates to Kemp's 35, according to figures compiled by the Associated Press. But according to the Federal Election Commission Robertson figures to be significantly ahead in the crucial money game, having raised at least \$6 million more than Kemp as of December 31.

Yet many people still seem to dismiss Robertson's candidacy. "I come across a lot of Democrats who say, 'Pat Robertson couldn't happen to a better party,'" said Arthur Kropp, president of People for the American Way, founded in 1980 to counter the religious right. "Even if he was to go as far as being the Republican nominee, the sense I get from them is not a threatening feeling. That makes me nervous. Because what Pat Robertson is able to accomplish will go far beyond this campaign."

Robertson will probably not be the Republican presidential choice in 1988. But he may wield strong influence in shaping the Republican agenda. His Ivy League credentials (a law degree from Yale) help make his religious extremism more acceptable to mainstream Republicans. Conservatives like



Though weak in New Hampshire, Pat Robertson's forces may have more to cheer come Super Tuesday.

Robertson may be born again in South

Richard Viguerie, frustrated by the stagnation of the New Right agenda during the Reagan years, are delighted by Robertson's candidacy.

Robertson's national campaign began with an announcement on September 17, 1986, that he would run for president if, within a year, 3 million voters signed petitions saying they would pray, work and contribute to his election. By September 14, 1987, he had them. A few days later, he announced his candidacy. The list gave Robertson a huge working base of supporters. "What they developed in that was the largest grass-roots direct mailing list in the country," Kropp said. "Nothing Bush or anybody else has done comes close to the names in that single computer."

The New Hampshire effort: New Hampshire's campaign was small but effective. Robertson workers approached ministers and parishioners in the state's 200 evangelical churches. "Even when I found a pastor that would help out, it was a lot better to find an individual [churchgoer] who could go around putting up signs," said Bob Stiles, a Robertson staffer who began working with ministers in early 1987. "That way, it doesn't look like you're trying to force it down the congregation's throat."

Churchgoers set up phone banks, held house parties and talked up Robertson on Sunday mornings. About 40 ministers also became active in the Robertson campaign. Across the state, they preached to their congregations to vote. One church held an all-night prayer vigil the weekend before the election. Two more held special evening services where members viewed a conservative religious videotape urging America to turn back from drugs, pornography and perversion and rediscover its Biblical foundations. Afterward, ushers passed out copies of the

Presidential Biblical Scoreboard, a brochure produced by a California evangelical publisher that ranks candidates on issues (abortion, Star Wars, Social Security) for which it has determined the "pro-biblical" and "anti-biblical" position.

Then in January the campaign sent out 170,000 copies of a cassette tape by Robertson titled "What I Would Do as President." Staffers believe the cassettes were

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the single most effective tool in converting voters. On February 7, 110,000 copies of the *Scoreboard* were inserted in the Sunday edition of the right-wing *Manchester Union Leader*.

Most ministers never mentioned Robertson by name, thereby sidestepping the legal prohibition against non-profit organizations lobbying for a political candidate. And indeed, many evangelicals seemed equally taken with born-again Jack Kemp, especially after Kemp sent his son around to their Sunday services. But the point of their preaching seemed clear: the *Scoreboard* ranks Pat Robertson highest; Kemp, the closest, is 10 points below him. Jesse Jackson, the only other presidential candidate with religious credentials, rated zero. As Rev. Walter Holder of Concord said when his ushers passed out the *Scoreboard*, "The choice isn't between right and left. It's between right and wrong."

Jumping parties: But the New Hampshire strategy is nothing compared to Robertson's drive in the South. The Robertson campaign

has organized massive drives to persuade conservative Southern Democrats to switch to the Republican Party in order to vote for him. (Democrats outnumber Republicans five to one in some Southern states.) The *Washington Post* reports that more than 3,700 Louisiana voters switched their registration from Democratic to Republican last month, a move attributed almost exclusively to Robertson's appeal. Robertson workers there bought a list of the state's Democratic voters, then printed and sent 200,000 of its own cards for changing party affiliation. In one parish alone, more than 500 voters have changed parties since the beginning of the year. Registration-switching drives are also underway in Oklahoma. In Texas, which yields 111 Republican delegates, voters don't have to declare a party preference before primary voting.

In a move reminiscent of his Michigan campaign (see *In These Times*, Jan. 27) Robertson is also attempting to gain control of local party organizations in the South. Robertson's Georgia campaign won enough representation in recent precinct caucuses to be able to choose national convention delegates regardless of which Republican actually wins there on March 8. A similar effort is now underway in North Carolina. Robertson's impact will be felt, regardless of whether he is the Republican presidential candidate. He will likely garner enough delegates to force the party to pander to the religious right, as Kemp is already doing.

George Bush isn't far behind. Bush used to brag that he was the only Republican who was born only once. His media advisers have tossed that joke. These days Bush sends out videos that proclaim his deep religious feelings just like the other candidates.

Ann Davis is a freelance journalist based in Concord, N.H.

IN THESE TIMES FEB. 24-MARCH 8, 1988 7

By David Moberg

KENOSHA, WIS.

WHEN CHRYSLER CORP. REVEALED ITS purchase of American Motors last March, union negotiators at the aged AMC factory here were only hours away from completing contract talks. In exchange for work rule changes, AMC would have brought in a new model Jeep and, with Wisconsin state assistance, built new body and paint shops. But Chrysler seemed healthier than AMC's principal owner, the French carmaker Renault, even though AMC was headed toward a rare profit of \$200 million last year.

So workers cautiously joined in the chorus of praise for the merger, and Freddy's Bar across the street from the main Kenosha plant put up its "Kenosha Welcomes Chrysler" sign.

The city and county committed \$1.2 million in funds for physical improvements. The state promised \$5 million in training funds. Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson wrote to Chrysler Chairman Gerry Greenwald that he understood the additional production slated for Kenosha "would have a duration of about five years." That five-year commitment was made repeatedly by Chrysler officials—in a letter to Kenosha's city administrator, in talks to United Auto Workers (UAW) officials in Solidarity House in Detroit and even as late as last October to the Kenosha County Board.

Many laid-off AMC workers took the pledge seriously and gave up new jobs to return to the auto plant. Their decision seemed sound, since the company was spending \$250 million moving equipment into Kenosha and refurbishing the two old factories.

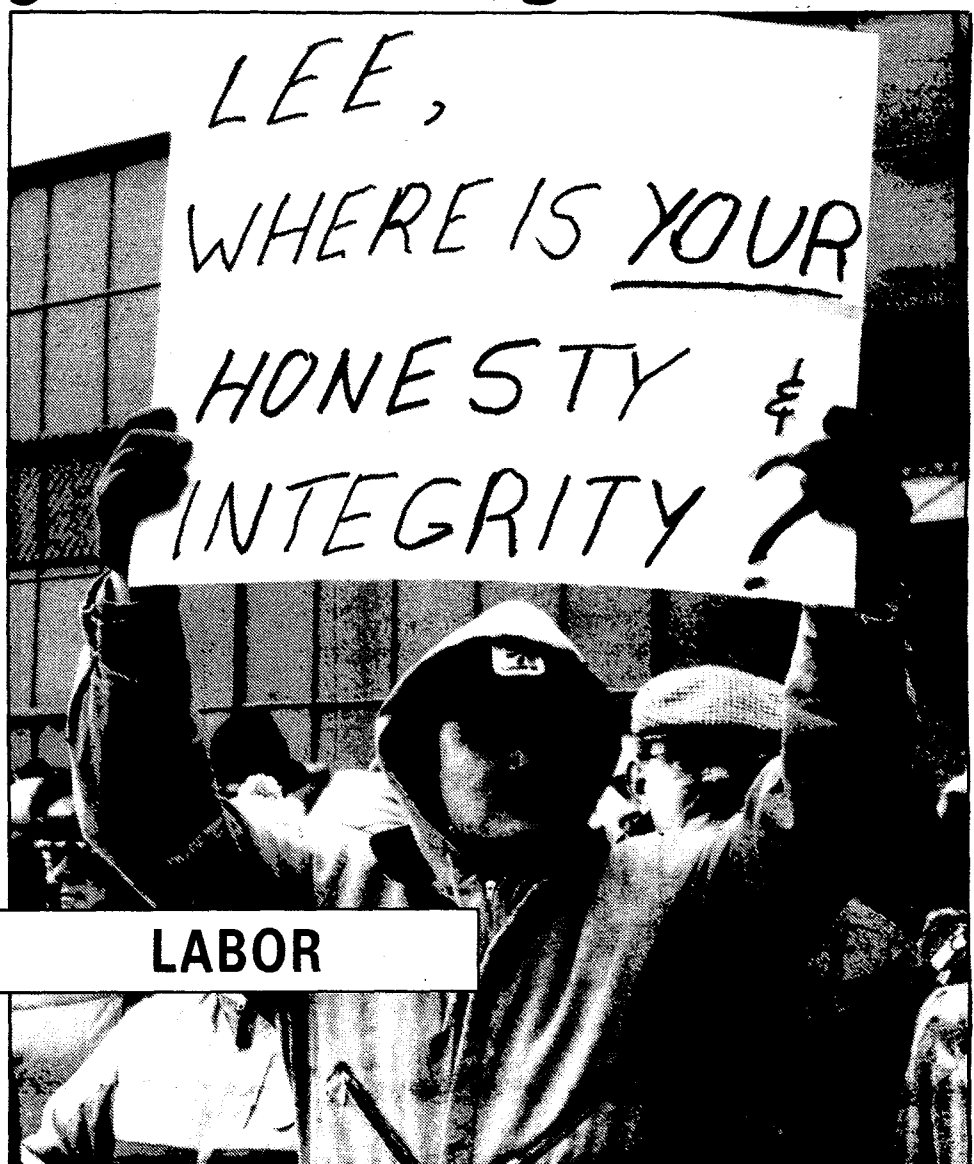
In the AMC deal Chrysler got an experienced workforce that quickly adapted to the changeover, consistently ranked at the top of the company in quality, and turned an apparently healthy profit on the old models it was producing in an inherently inefficient plant—the small Omni and Horizon and large, rear-wheel drive cars like the Fifth Avenue. On January 7 the workers set an all-time corporate quality record.

Less than three weeks later, on January 27, Chrysler announced it was closing most of the Kenosha plant. At least 5,500 workers are scheduled to lose their jobs by this fall. The state estimates that could cost the public as much as \$100 million, and more than double the unemployment rate in southeast Wisconsin to 18 percent. The sign on Freddy's Bar changed to "Kenosha's Been Cheated."

More trouble: Within a couple of weeks another 10,500 UAW members—one-sixth of Chrysler's total union workforce—were fighting mad at supposed folk-hero Lee Iacocca. Last year Chrysler put most of its parts plants into a new subsidiary called Acustar, employing 28,000 worldwide at 29 factories. Chrysler is far less vertically integrated than General Motors or even Ford, but all the auto companies have been trying to remove their parts plants from the master UAW auto contract.

The auto parts industry, now only about 30 percent unionized, will probably drop much further as new competitors, especially Japanese parts suppliers, enter the market and locate primarily in less-unionized states and rural areas. Many unionized independent plants have much less costly contracts than the Big Three, but the UAW resisted pressure from Ford and General Motors to make their integrated parts plants workers second-class and won contract provisions

Chrysler's hit-and-run joyride through Kenosha



A tough question for Iacocca: Chrysler officials may not have counted on the closing's backlash.

last year making it harder to shut down or sell off parts factories. Meanwhile, despite Big Three support for the UAW complaint about imports, U.S. auto companies more than doubled their own parts imports from 1982 to 1986.

Now Chrysler has confirmed rumors that it is looking for a buyer for its Acustar division. Two of the prospects are International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. and little-known, fast-expanding Harvard Industries,

Chrysler took over the plant last year, giving Kenosha a five-year commitment. But now the automaker plans to close the facility.

which has already developed an unsavory anti-union reputation. Although the new buyer would most likely recognize the UAW and its contract initially, it would probably pressure the parts plants locals for concessions.

The moves on Acustar and Kenosha have this in common: Chrysler's UAW contract expires next September, and Iacocca wants to avoid any of the plant-closing protections and job guarantees included in the Ford and GM pacts. Besides, Chrysler executives expect a downturn in auto sales as Asian automaker production in North America grows—perhaps to 11 percent of total cap-

acity by 1990. In such a competitive environment, Chrysler wants to be as lean as possible. Ford, Chrysler and GM are likely to close as many as seven more plants.

In buying AMC, Chrysler got its hot-selling Jeep line and an ultramodern Canadian assembly plant, but it also got three old factories operating well below capacity. As a consequence it took on substantial debt. Shutting down Kenosha and reshuffling its production will cost a bundle, but Acustar's sale should bring in around \$1.2 billion.

Chrysler executives had already promised to build a new factory in Detroit to replace the old Jefferson Avenue assembly plant. They had exacted \$40 million from the city for buying land, and within days of announcing Kenosha's closing were asking for another \$40 million in aid from Detroit, even though the Jefferson plant construction had been postponed. The new Jefferson plant is especially important to Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and UAW's Chrysler Department director, Vice President Marc Stepp. Chrysler had dangled the promise of the plant in order to get a pledge from Jefferson workers to accept the "modern operating agreement" that relies on teams of workers, reduced job classifications and greater management flexibility.

But the K-cars—Reliant and Aries—that were supposed to sustain the old Jefferson plant have not been selling well. Rather than mount a massive sales campaign, even selling the K-cars at cost, as Kenosha union leaders suggest, Chrysler decided to shift the Omni and Horizon to Detroit and dump Kenosha.

Fighting back: Company officials may not have counted on the ensuing Wisconsin firestorm. The bushwhacked Republican governor has threatened a lawsuit for breach of contract. The city and county may file their own suits. If the governor resists Chrysler efforts to soften the blow as well as local worries that such a lawsuit would hurt the state's business climate, Kenosha Chrysler workers may also sue as third-party beneficiaries of the government-corporation agreement who were hurt by the breach of contract.

The local union is also considering suing Chrysler for illegal use of federal funds to take jobs from one state to another. Currently a major cause of auto industry turmoil is the bidding war among states for new auto plants with most of the massive subsidies going to Asian transplants like Toyota's Georgetown, Kentucky factory, or joint ventures like the Chrysler-Mitsubishi Diamond Star plant scheduled to open this year in Illinois.

"If organized crime did the kinds of things American business does, it would be called extortion," said Rudy Kuzel, Kenosha local union bargaining chairman.

If Chrysler insists on breaking its commitment, Kuzel vows to make the closing the most expensive ever. Although neither the closing nor the Acustar sale are strictly strikeable issues, local union leaders note that there are enough legitimate grievances to produce strikes. And a strike at Kenosha, whose 800-worker engine plant will remain open, would shut down lucrative Jeep production. "Chrysler has to be made to keep its commitments to all workers in Kenosha and Jefferson Avenue," Kuzel said. "If that costs Mr. Iacocca a little bit of excess profits, that's too bad."

In the weeks after their announcement, Chrysler officials faced union picket lines at press conferences and auto shows, threats of canceled fleet sales to Wisconsin public agencies, depressed Wisconsin retail sales, threats of lawsuits and continued political pressure. Last week Iacocca scurried back to Wisconsin, admitting he had "dumb managers" but denying he was a liar who broke his commitments.

Too little, too late? In a shrewd move, he offered to put all profits earned on Chrysler sales in Wisconsin this year into a Kenosha workers' trust fund for housing and education—hoping to boost sales, improve image and stop the lawsuits. Kuzel said it reminded him of a movie of Frank and Jesse James throwing dollars in the air to distract the posse as they rode out of town after a bank robbery.

Chrysler and Iacocca are especially vulnerable to public attack. They were bailed out, economist Robert Reich noted in *New Deals*, not only by the Chrysler loan guarantee but by import quotas and the 1981 Reagan tax act. All this aid was provided ostensibly to save jobs, but Chrysler survived by slashing employment by one-third and closing 18 plants. "With no explicit link between workers and communities and the corporate entity of Chrysler," he concluded, "the primary beneficiaries of the rescue were bound to be the company's managers, creditors and stockholders."

The same winners continue to benefit from the chaotic jumble of conflicting public policies. And many Chrysler workers—who bailed out the company with their money, accepted contract changes and delivered top-quality work—continue to receive the same reward: unemployment. □

By Dick Russell

NASHUA, N.H.

THEY CAME HERE FROM ALL ACROSS THE Northeast and as far away as Alabama. More than 1,000 environmental activists, labor organizers and Vietnam veterans packed a hotel ballroom to press presidential candidates for commitments on a solution to America's toxics crisis. Only two contenders—Democrats Richard Gephardt and Paul Simon—deemed the gathering worthy of brief attendance. But all candidates, Democrats and Republicans, received a rating on their record on toxic hazards. On the eve of the New Hampshire primary, the activists fanned out to knock on doors of nearly 100,000 voters to spread the word about how the candidates rate on the issue.

None of the candidates fared that well on the toxics scorecard, with Jesse Jackson and Gephardt leading the pack. But the "Toxics Prevention '88" conference went beyond politics-as-usual, unveiling a 17-page platform to be carried into the campaign and bringing together a unique coalition to seek common ground.

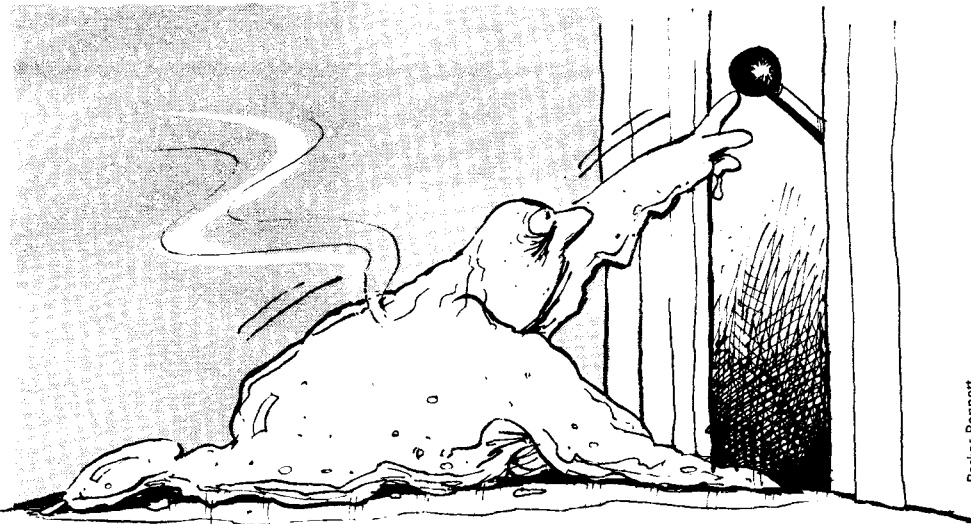
As Paul Connett of St. Lawrence University in New York and founder of Work on Waste put it, "Thousands of people are waiting to join this toxics battle. Coast to coast people are saying, we don't want your lousy landfills and mass-burn incinerators, and we want recycling. It's an issue that will bring middle-class America into our movement."

The speakers were under no illusions about what they're up against. "Since World War II, the chemical firms and their allied industries have taken more and more control over our destinies," said John O'Connor, executive director at the Boston office of the National Campaign Against Toxic Hazards. "And democracy is in danger. Today we have cost-benefit analyses, where they weigh out the value of human life. Bottom-line institutional profits abuse the health of children. This can't continue. It will require democracy to be extended past the plant gate and the boardroom door, to the citizens. We must be united enough to challenge false values and false prosperity. None of us can live upstream anymore."

Workers and waste: One example of the kind of consciousness shift that Connett and O'Connor are talking about came in a talk by Dennis Couture, representing striking workers from the International Paper Company in Jay, Maine. Couture noted that workers like himself were alienated from, if not hostile to, environmental concerns only a few years ago. But last week it was the strikers who mobilized an evacuation of 4,000 nearby citizens during a 112,000-gallon chlorine dioxide leak at the mill.

The chemical escaped from a tank when two inexperienced laborers, hired in an effort to break the eight-month strike, severed a section of deteriorated steam pipe with a blow torch. The result, according to Couture, was a near-Bhopal disaster. "If the weather had not been cold, 22 degrees, the gases wouldn't have just sat there in the air," he said. "They would have volatilized and dispersed, and the amount of chlorine dioxide released was twice as lethal as the chemicals in Bhopal." When the strikers, monitoring communications inside the plant, became aware that officials were seeking to downplay the incident, "we alerted people to get the hell out of town."

The day after the toxics conference still another leak, this time inside the paper plant, sent seven workers to hospitals. In a show



Groups push candidates for action on toxic issues

of solidarity, environmental activists canvassing homes with the presidential scorecard in Portsmouth, N.H., headed immediately north into Maine to join the workers and townspeople in a protest demanding a mill shutdown.

In another mutual effort, the workers had earlier helped out a grass-roots group in Lowell, Mass., who were seeking to have the state relocate eight families living near a hazardous-waste site, by getting 1,000

Systems put it, "Environmental pollution is essentially an incurable disease—it can only be prevented." He noted that the few U.S. successes over the past decade (annual lead emissions down 86 percent, DDT and PCBs in the body fat of Americans down 70 percent to 80 percent, mercury in the Lake Erie sediments down 70 percent) have not come about "with a high-tech control device, but by ceasing to put the pollutant into the environment."

The implication, Commoner continued, is "telling the auto industry what kind of cars to build, and farmers that they can't use fertilizers and pesticides, that power should come from cogenerators, that brewers don't need to put a plastic noose on a six-pack, that McDonald's should rediscover the paper plate, and that no waste should be burned that can be recycled. Which means people have to take on responsibility to participate in decisions that are currently the sole prerogative of corporations. Social intervention, social governance of political decisions gets very close to the 's-word'—socialism. But the entire legislative structure in the U.S. dealing with environment needs to be rewritten."

Mary Stout, representing the 350-chapter, 38,000-member Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, sought to forge another link with the toxics movement. "The toxic

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people in a single day to join a postcard campaign to Gov. Michael Dukakis. The postcard effort, with nearly 14,000 cards pouring into Dukakis' office in six days, was successful in getting Massachusetts officials to pay \$120,000 in late January to relocate the families. All elected to move together to the nearby community of Tewksbury.

But Tony Mazzocchi, a labor organizer with the Worker Policy Institute, warned in an afternoon speech that "many workers feel threatened by environmental advances, not because they don't share the concerns but because banning these substances means a major shift in what people do and their ability to support themselves. There is no way there will be useful work for all the Amer-

"Since World War II, the chemical firms have taken more and more control over our destinies... Today we have cost-benefit analyses, where they weigh out the value of human life."

icans displaced by our being successful in changing the toxics industry."

What Mazzocchi proposed was the creation of "a Superfund for workers. We have a Superfund law where the producers of toxics must pay for their removal. Why not a capital pool for workers paid for by the corporations? They should get childcare and other benefits. Then we redefine what work is about. Work should be sending people back to universities who've never been there, contributing real-life experiences to young people. And learning how to reconfigure the landscape. Reparation needs to be in our economic agenda."

That scary "s-word": With prevention and not just control of toxic hazards on everyone's mind, Mazzocchi's suggestion was well-taken. As Barry Commoner of Queens College's Center for the Biology of Natural

war we now realize was going on in Vietnam has come home to America," she said. "Pollution has turned America into a toxic free-fire zone."

Addressing the Veterans Administration's (VA) cancellation of its latest study on the effects of Agent Orange, Stout also described new legislation that would require the VA to keep track of more than 1.1 million vets' exposure levels and force the military to provide compensation for Agent Orange-related cancers. "The vets have only the VA's Board of Veteran Appeals to go to for benefits," she told the crowd. They have been "denied their constitutional right to challenge the federal agency in court."

The growing national trend toward mass-burn waste incinerators was perhaps the hottest item of the day. Addressing a packed workshop, Connett dubbed incineration "the

biggest rip-off since nuclear power plants" and predicted that, due to "the economic imperative," most refuse incinerators would eventually begin accepting hazardous waste as well. As for the toxic ash that nobody knows what to do with, Connett described how various incineration operations are dumping it on neighboring states. The \$200 million to \$500 million apiece that municipalities are paying for incinerators "should be going to generate jobs and inner-city improvements. Tires, plastics, bottles, cans and newspapers can be recycled," he said. Connett also talked of a new firm in Lebanon, Conn., that specializes in converting organic trash into compost for farmers. **Rating the candidates:** As for the candidates, Gephardt, co-author of the Family Farm Act in Congress, espoused organic agriculture and talked tough on other concerns. These included a pledge, which Simon was unwilling to make, that he would ban the pesticide chlordane and chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) destroying the ozone layer on the first day of his administration. "We've not had the courage to stand up to industry and say that these items are not necessary," said Gephardt. In response to another question, he added that he would also push for a five-year moratorium on the building of new incinerators, saying, "these operations are not run correctly; there is no evaluation and no oversight."

Most of the candidates, however, have elected to duck the toxics issue altogether. At the end of the day, the scorecard showed the crowd's dissatisfaction. Based on an analysis of voting records and other statements, the door-knockers in New Hampshire would be offering the following assessments on "how the candidates rate on toxic hazards": Jesse Jackson, 75 (out of a possible 100 points); Richard Gephardt, 74; Paul Simon, 60; Albert Gore, 57; Bruce Babbitt, 57; Gary Hart, 47; Michael Dukakis, 42; Pierre DuPont, 21; Robert Dole, 14; George Bush, 12; Jack Kemp, 7; Pat Robertson, 2.

Meanwhile, the new coalition that organized the New England meeting—People Organized to Win Environmental Rights (P.O.W.E.R.)—is planning another round in Atlanta just prior to the "Super Tuesday" Southern primaries. Candidates will again be invited to consider the citizens' platform, perhaps the most comprehensive package ever put together by the environmental movement. Among the objectives are a ban on Styrofoam and other forms of non-biodegradable packaging by 1990, outlawing five pesticides that pose imminent danger to farmworkers harvesting table grapes, and plans for toxics-use reduction. The platform demands that the thousands of communities damaged by hazardous and radioactive waste sites be restored to safety, including relocation of families by the government where necessary. It also calls for a program to monitor for dangerous levels of chlordane and heptachlor in millions of homes where the termite-killers were used.

The platform further states citizens should be given the right to information, inspection of facilities, and negotiation with government and industry. It insists workers should be given on-the-job training concerning possible hazards, as well as the right to refuse unsafe work. Finally, the platform demands a restructuring of the Environmental Protection Agency, and a national focus on alternative energy, organic farming and waste-disposal plans. □

Dick Russell writes regularly for *In These Times*.

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Haiti

Continued from page 3

bians send the drugs up and get guns back, but we can't get a clear picture of the number of guns that go there." But the source confirmed that Uzis and other automatic weapons had flooded Haiti, especially prior to the aborted and violence-ridden November 29 elections. On that day, Uzi-toting gunmen killed and wounded dozens of Haitian voters in a successful effort to disrupt the vote. Insiders said that Col. Paul was behind the November 29 attacks.

A disturbing link has also been alleged between Haiti and the contras. The first clue of a connection came last July, when convicted drug smuggler George Morales told Senate investigators that Haiti had been used as a contra resupply point. Morales offered no details of the operation in his open subcommittee testimony, but a top congressional source confirmed last month that a plane destined for the contras had been dropped off in Haiti. Quintana also maintained that Haiti had been used as a contra resupply point. Congressional Iran-contra investigators never focused on Haiti's possible role, but were aware of the allegations according to Capitol Hill sources.

Foot-dragging? Last month a DEA source said Paul was due to be indicted sometime in late January or early February, but so far, there has been no word from the U.S. Attorney's Office in Miami that is handling the investigation. A spokesman for U.S. Attorney Leon Kellner confirmed that the indictment was "pending," but declined to comment on its status or scope. Yet the DEA source said his agency had provided Kellner's office with

"extra, above and beyond" evidence of Paul's cocaine activities since last spring.

The apparent silence about Paul has also puzzled drug source Quintana and his lawyer Rubin. They are angry about what Rubin calls "the administration's foot-dragging" over the indictment. In a February 3 public statement, Rubin questioned whether the Reagan administration was "covering up" the Haitian drug story due to the current fragile political situation in Haiti. He personally requested a response to his concerns by Vice President George Bush, who heads the U.S. National Narcotics Interdiction Program.

Officials from the Justice and State Departments, as well as Bush and Kellner's offices, declined to comment on the Paul indictment. But congressional investigators have been alerted by Rubin, who is worried his client may be killed and the indictment against the Haitian military quashed. Quintana, who was promised federal protection by the DEA a year ago, claims to have suffered two attempts against his life and is now in hiding. Worse, the DEA warned Quintana on January 26 not to talk to the media about the Paul-cocaine story or risk losing the promised DEA "witness protection."

Congressional investigators say what troubles them is that the Reagan administration appears to have known about the allegations of Haitian military-drug activities for more than a year. Yet the administration gave the Haitian junta more than \$100 million in aid in 1987 before suspending the last portion of the aid after the November 9 massacre.

Anne-christine d'Adesma writes regularly for *In These Times*.

Panama

Continued from page 3

than \$3 million in covert funds for the CIA, a transaction clearly labelled "CIA" in financial records presented as evidence during his trial.

Milian-Rodriguez's CIA connection spotlights the long-standing ties between the intelligence and narcotics communities—ties that surfaced in the contra-cocaine connection. "Drug proceeds were used to shore up the contras," Milian-Rodriguez testified. The parallel cocaine pipeline that led through contra bases in northern Costa Rica may partly explain why the U.S. kept quiet for so long about Noriega's drug operations.

Relations between the two cocaine distribution systems were quite competitive at times, according to the testimony of Floyd Carlton, a former pilot for Noriega and a major cocaine trafficker. Carlton told the subcommittee that one of his cocaine-filled planes was stolen in 1983 and taken to a Costa Rican ranch owned by John Hull, who served the contra network as controller for the Southern Front.

The man who knew too much: At least one person had direct knowledge of both the Panamanian and Costa Rican cocaine connections: Dr. Hugo Spadafora, a Panamanian adventurer who fought with Eden Pastora against both the Somoza dictatorship and the Sandinistas. In 1984, when Pastora had been edged out and nearly assassinated by the main CIA-backed contra faction, Spadafora retired as a contra and threatened to blow the whistle on the operation's cocaine business.

"Tell John Hull that I am on the second

chapter of my book," Spadafora told one of Hull's aides, according to Leslie Cockburn's book *Out of Control*.

Spadafora, who was also a prominent Noriega opponent, had talked loudly about Noriega's drug ties. Given the enemies Spadafora was accumulating, it is not surprising that in September 1985 he turned up dead, his headless body stuffed in a mailbag in Costa Rica across the border from Panama.

Mounting evidence, including one of Noriega's conversations intercepted by U.S. intelligence, indicates that the murder was committed, with the general's approval, by a Noriega lieutenant. Questions remain, however, about the U.S. role in Noriega's action.

Right before he was killed, according to a Council on Hemispheric Affairs report, Spadafora passed documents demonstrating cocaine links between Noriega and the contras to Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agents in Costa Rica. At least some Costa Rican DEA agents were on the drug traffickers' payroll, according to the Iran-contra committee's report, and the fact that none of the documents has surfaced suggests that the agents may have tipped off Noriega.

One of Blandon's revelations to the Kerry subcommittee supports this suggestion. He testified that Joe Fernandez, the CIA station chief in Costa Rica who had close ties to Hull's contra operation, helped Noriega in a cover-up. Fernandez, Blandon said, sent a CIA electronics specialist known as "Hoffman" to Panama to claim that he had seen Salvadoran guerrillas kill Spadafora.

Tit-for-tat: While his death may have been the most egregious example of U.S.-Panamanian cooperation, relations between the countries soon soured. On December 17, 1985, Adm. John Poindexter, the recently appointed national security adviser, travelled to Panama to deliver a series of ultimatums to Noriega. Early this month Noriega told CBS' *60 Minutes* that Poindexter had asked Panama to invade Nicaragua and then call for U.S. intervention. But the undiplomatic Poindexter may merely have asserted that Panama was henceforth to behave less like an ally and more like a puppet.

While Poindexter met with Noriega, Blandon said he was meeting with other U.S. officials who said that unless Panama made certain cosmetic changes, "the U.S. would use political, economic and military pressure on Panama."

When this heavy-handed threat failed, the Reagan administration did begin to retaliate—notably in the form of a June 1986 *New York Times* expose of Noriega's drug-dealing and other crimes, written by Seymour Hersh and attributed to "senior State Department, White House, Pentagon and intelligence officials."

Noriega responded by aborting the Salvadoran arms scam designed to implicate the Sandinistas. This was only the beginning of a tit-for-tat game that culminated most recently in Noriega's indictment on drug charges and his demand that the U.S. military remove its bases from Panama (see *In These Times*, Feb. 17).

Ironically, the indictment was brought by U.S. Attorney Leon Kellner, the same prosecutor who, at the request of Attorney General Edwin Meese, successfully squelched a 1986 investigation of contra drug- and gun-running. Announcing the Noriega indictment, Kellner boasted that he had received "no hindrance" in his investigation.

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By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

AFTER THE RECENT U.S.-SOVIET AGREEMENT to scrap American Euromissiles, a new controversy over European Euromissiles is surfacing.

The agreement to remove and destroy land-based intermediate range nuclear missiles has been hailed worldwide as the elimination of a whole category of weapons. But only the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed the deal. Meanwhile, military planners in Bonn and Paris are studying the possibility of replacing the U.S. Pershing 2 missiles with truly European Euromissiles jointly produced and operated by France and West Germany.

French Defense Minister André Giraud wants France to take the lead building missiles to replace the Pershing 2 and thus restore what he calls the "intermediary echelon" of NATO defense—a slight variation on the term "intermediate nuclear forces" (INF).

Franco-German Euromissiles might be sea-based. West German Defense Minister Manfred Wörner, who will take over as NATO secretary general on July 1, has called for air- and sea-based systems able to strike Soviet territory.

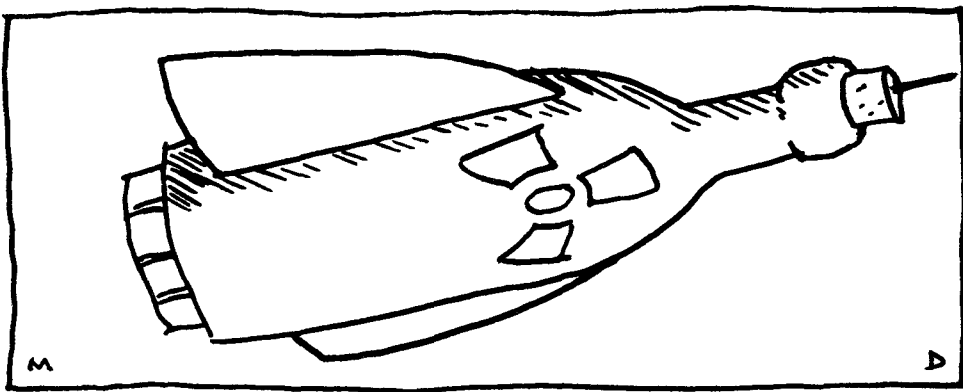
Influential peace researcher Alfred Mechtersheimer, a former Bundeswehr officer elected to the Bundestag on the Green party list, foresees little strong international opposition to Franco-German Euromissiles. He believes the U.S. favors such a project and the Soviet Union would probably grudgingly put up with it.

Unanimous German aversion to the short-range nuclear weapons left in Germany after the INF accord has led to hasty assumptions about a German consensus favoring denuclearization of Europe. But the unanimous desire to get rid of short-range weapons that would destroy Germany does not mean that all German parties necessarily agree on the less discussed, more divisive question of support for some form of longer-range nuclear deterrence.

The controversy has been created by the shift in American strategic doctrine. For years, as Pentagon planners were shifting away from the extremity of strategic nuclear deterrence (mutual assured destruction, or MAD) for the defense of Europe, it continued to be official NATO doctrine. To this day, Germany's political leaders have never wavered in their official support for strategic nuclear deterrence. But what it means is entirely out of their control.

Thus INF has been the moment of truth. Putting the Pershing 2 missiles into Germany and then taking them out again might seem to change nothing. But the U.S. has used that feint to bring home to Europe the lesson that NATO can no longer count on U.S. strategic nuclear defense. Before there were any Pershing 2 missiles, Europe was supposedly covered by the U.S. strategic umbrella. But now the Pentagon is saying that without the Pershing 2's NATO cannot strike Soviet territory. The U.S. will not use its strategic forces to defend Europe.

"Our deterrence": This has been implicit for a long time and yet Europe has not fallen to Soviet tanks. But everybody could pretend that the Soviet threat existed and was held at bay by nuclear deterrence. Now European NATO leaders must either find their own form of nuclear deterrence or else admit that the Soviet threat is not so overwhelming as



After U.S.-Soviet INF pact Europe may build own missiles

they pretend.

The removal of the U.S. strategic umbrella more than 20 years ago was obscured by the deliberately ambiguous "flexible response" doctrine. Short-range nuclear weapons were supposed to be steps in a ladder of escalation leading to strategic nuclear destruction. And that is indeed what they might have been. Now the new NATO commander, Gen. John

EUROPE

Galvin, calls the remaining short-range nuclear weapons "our deterrence." They do not lead upward to strategic deterrence, but simply to the "mutually assured destruction" ... of Germany.

The doctrinal change was spelled out more explicitly than ever in the January 12 report to President Reagan by Pentagon superhawk Fred Ikle and alarmist analyst Albert Wohlstetter, "Discriminate Deterrence." The report prefers small nuclear weapons that could actually be used in limited wars to the big world-blasters of MAD.

"Discriminate Deterrence" is nothing new, Mechtersheimer points out. "U.S. forces can be an instrument of foreign policy only if they don't lead to nuclear escalation and thus self-annihilation," he observes. Insofar as U.S. strategists want to be able to use military intervention in the world, they have no interest in being tied to an escalation process leading to nuclear holocaust.

The problem for Germany's military planners is that they are still committed to nuclear deterrence doctrine, but for the doctrine to make any sense at all against the Soviet Union, there must be nuclear weapons that can strike Soviet territory. This is what they want from France.

Just camouflage: In a recent Bundestag exchange, Mechtersheimer got Christian Democratic fraction leader Alfred Dregger to admit that his party wanted French nuclear missiles in the Federal Republic with enough range to strike the Soviet Union. This is a much greater range than that of the Hades missile being developed by France.

A possible solution would be for France and Germany jointly to build a new missile based on Ariane satellite launcher technology, Mechtersheimer suggested in an interview with *In These Times*. Things like the Franco-German brigade are "just camouflage" for this project, which is what really matters, according to Mechtersheimer. The weapons would be nominally French, but since the Germans would share in targeting and so on, in practice they would be Franco-German.

Such Franco-German cooperation would

be independent of the modernization agreed on by the NATO Nuclear Planning Group meeting in Montebello, Canada, in October 1983. The main feature of the Montebello modernization would be a new version of the Lance missile, probably extending its range from about 75 miles to about 250 miles. As a U.S. missile, the Lance's range would have to stay within the 500-mile limit of the INF treaty. As the recent annual Munich Wehrkunde conference showed, Pentagon efforts to ram short-range nuclear modernization down the throats of the Germans have met with stiff resistance. The Montebello modernization directly contradicts the "third zero" option to eliminate short-range nuclear missiles favored by an overwhelming majority of Germans.

At Munich, the Germans felt entirely isolated in their desire to continue the disarmament process.

But their opposition to short-range nuclear weapons could find backing in France if it were coupled with strong enough interest in long-range French nuclear missiles.

At the end of a week-long tour of allied capitals, Sen. Sam Nunn concluded it was necessary to "slow down the debate on modernization of nuclear weapons in Europe. We

Now European NATO leaders must either find their own form of nuclear deterrence or else admit that the Soviet threat is not so overwhelming as they pretend.

don't have a NATO consensus on this issue, particularly in West Germany," he told the *International Herald Tribune*.

On February 10 Nunn and four other U.S. senators (Democratic Majority Leader Robert Byrd, Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell, David Boren and John Warner) heard French President Francois Mitterrand make a lengthy criticism of the "flexible response" doctrine, which he hoped the alliance would abandon. Flexible response means battlefield nuclear weapons, which Europeans accepted as a linkage to the U.S. strategic umbrella but cannot accept as a means of defending Europe.

Nunn said later that instead of nuclear artillery, U.S. forces in Europe will probably rely mainly on a new stand-off air-to-ground

missile launched from fighter planes. He also spoke positively of the new Franco-German military cooperation.

The little nails: Deliberately or inadvertently, the U.S. is bound to encourage Franco-German Euromissile cooperation. This is because the U.S. wants to keep short-range nuclear weapons in Germany. Not even German hawks want short-range nuclear weapons unless there are also longer-range ones that can threaten Soviet territory. These must come from France.

Mechtersheimer believes France will help West Germany achieve status as a semi-nuclear power because France is eager to trade its nuclear weapons for economic advantages with Germany.

The small nuclear weapons the Pentagon wants to put in Germany are above all "political stabilization weapons," Mechtersheimer believes, designed to prevent denuclearization of Europe and maintain the presence of U.S. troops. The Pershing 2 and cruise missiles were "nails" to hold West Germany, said Mechtersheimer. "The big nails were taken away; little ones must be kept."

Even conservative Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss supports removing short-range nuclear weapons. He has sensed the public mood, explains Mechtersheimer. But removal of short-range nuclear weapons can be combined with long-range French weapons.

The Soviet Union will complain, and is already complaining. But the Russians will "swallow" the French and even Franco-German missiles because they are less dangerous than American ones, Mechtersheimer believes. The U.S. forces in Europe are too tied to aggressive global policy.

But this is not good for German-Soviet relations, he argues. The Federal Republic will have to pay some price—political, economic or both—to the Soviet Union for its military cooperation with France.

SPD debate: So far only the Greens have paid any attention to this problem. But there are signs of growing debate in the Social Democratic Party (SPD).

Die Tageszeitung reported last week that the head of the SPD work group on disarmament and arms control, Hermann Scheer, had criticized party leaders for being too vague about nuclear deterrence. Scheer named no names, but the newspaper said SPD leaders Egon Bahr and Horst Ehmke were widely believed to have gone too far to achieve a pleasant "atmosphere" in talks with French Socialists by sacrificing sharp criticism of French nuclear strategy.

The SPD seeks to build cooperation with French Socialists based on the idea of "Europe's self-assertion." In an internal SPD discussion paper, Scheer said the party had not clearly worked out the distinction between two different interpretations of the concept: (1) a "reactionary way" aimed at "replacing declining American military potential including nuclear weapons with a West European potential," or (2) "a step by step demilitarization of block structures with help from step by step disarmament."

The SPD, said Scheer, lacks a clear policy concept to prevent France from vetoing further disarmament steps in Europe, or to "keep the Federal Republic from being sucked into French nuclear strategy." Scheer recommended finally "only such Franco-German security relations as do not stand in the way of denuclearization." □

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Nicaragua's social revolution rests largely on scripture and Christian base communities



For campesinos like delegate of the word Carlos Alberto Gonzalez, the Bible's images, so close to the sights, smells and sounds of his own daily toil, are a powerful inspiration and affirmation of his and his community's struggles.

By Joel Millman

LAS PILAS, NICARAGUA

Last August journalist Joel Millman and photographer Donna De Cesare began a two-year study of the lives and work of villagers in southern Nicaragua. From their base in San Jose, Costa Rica, Millman and DeCesare have periodically visited the small settlements of El Coyol and Las Pilas in Rivas. This report, written in the weeks after their first visit, examines the role of Christian base communities and the theology of liberation in the development of Nicaragua's rural reform politics.

ON A COLD, WIND-SWEPT STRETCH OF PASTURE high above Managua, two shabby stone manors poke above the weeds like tombstones in untended cemeteries. Electric lights, random at best in this battered corner of a most battered city, flicker uncertainly in the rooms and hallways of the two buildings, giving off an eerie glow as night falls.

But these two homes, formerly property of the Somoza family, emit more than electric light. Since the fall of the 35-year Somoza dynasty in 1979 they have been the property of the state. Today, they house delegations of visiting activists—for the most part those torchbearers from across Nicaragua who have chosen to spread the light of the gospel in reforming the countryside.

The two houses are now operated by the Center for Education and Agrarian Promotion (CEPA), an organization founded by two Jesuit missionaries in 1974. CEPA's goal is to develop grass-roots leadership for rural cooperatives and town councils, using the widespread Christian base communities.

Land reform is Central America's most subversive subject, a goal not sought without taking proper precautions. Through the last years of the Somoza dynasty church organizations such as CEPA provided camouflage that permitted a political opposition to organize itself and eventually collaborate with the Sandinista guerrillas. As a chief supporter in the rural zones, CEPA was rewarded

after the fall of Somoza with access to the new regime. Today it works closely with the government to develop rural cooperatives through seminars and workshops. The main difference is that now CEPA's adherents are no longer considered subversives, but are integral parts of the government's rural policies.

Each week dozens of CEPA trainees arrive by bus or truck from far away Jinotega, Matagalpa or Chinandega, the provinces (called "departments") where most Nicaraguans live. Crude bunk beds are in every room, except the bathrooms, to accommodate the trainees—mainly campesinos with straight black manes, patched work pants and gold-toothed smiles. On Friday nights the old walls buzz from the vibrations of disco and salsa tunes booming out of portable tape players as the teenage CEPA trainees shake away the cramps of a week of taking notes in grade-school writing chairs. Downing warm Cokes, they exchange addresses and hugs before returning to their home villages, intent on putting the new strategies into action.

CEPA also reaches outside Nicaragua to Europe and North America, bringing in construction brigades to work in the villages, study tours for short stays and dialogue with affiliated communities.

Not Cuba's Cuba: It is convenient but wrong to label Nicaragua the "second Cuba," even "Cuba's Cuba," according to some more obtuse North American opinion-shapers. It is convenient to dismiss a multi-layered, evolving process that mixes as much Christ as Marx—and probably more Band-Aid expediency than any single ideology—with its politics. The Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) is as much a carbon-copy of Castro and his communists as Simon Bolivar was of George Washington. And while it is also attractive to see a "generational theory" of communism's conquest of Latin America—the Sandinistas' 1979 triumph, coming 20 years after Castro dislodged Batista, represents the maturation of

some subversive vintage that, presumably, will now go on to inebriate El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico before the U.S. succumbs—that, too, is mistaken.

Scholars hung-up on the years 1959 and 1979 would do well to shift their attention to two more important years, 1965 and 1968: 1965 was the year Pope John XXIII concluded the Second Vatican Council, a decade-long series of discussions and reunions in Rome where, for the first time, a theology of oppression and liberation that had been developing among the clergy of Latin America received serious attention from the church. Three years later, at the Latin American bishops' conference at Medellín, Colombia, some Vatican II documents were interpreted as endorsing those new tendencies, notably that priests and nuns working in Latin America should adopt a "preferential option for the poor" in their struggle for social justice. For Latin America, where the church is unquestionably society's most respected institution, the combination of Vatican II and Medellín was nothing less than a volcano.

The "theology of liberation" percolating in communities in Brazil and Peru since the early '60s began to emerge as coherent Church doctrine. In a broad sense, it meant a change from viewing the relationship of developed and underdeveloped nations as a question of how the rich can aid the poor, to how the poor, the oppressed, might effect their own liberation. No more pie in the sky when you die, it was time to make society—including the institutional church—make good on its promise of a better life for all. Liberation theology would take some priests to the extreme of picking up arms and joining guerrilla bands. In the day-to-day life of the church it launched a continuing split between the conservative hierarchy with its traditional ties to the power structure, and priests and nuns—often "imports" from European and North American-based missionary orders—organizing in their parishes for political change.

In Nicaragua, where even the "mainstream" church opposed the dictatorship, the split was between those calling for eventual change and those calling for immediate change. Even before Vatican II and Medellín groups of devout and radical Christians, the base communities, were being formed in Nicaragua. Since the days of the great Mayan kings religious leaders in Central America have also been political leaders. With the new "liberation" gospel, religious leaders now became part of the political opposition. Wherever a base community was training catechists, those catechists were likely to be active in *campesino* organizations lobbying for land redistribution.

The most promising catechists would be groomed as "delegates of the word," lay leaders sufficiently trained in leading Bible discussions to direct services in the absence of an ordained priest. Often a circuit-riding missionary covered a territory so large that he might not arrive for a formal mass more than once or twice a year, leaving the delegates as the emerging religious and political leaders locally. More than anything else the emergence of indigenous spokesmen and women—confident and articulate—

threatened Latin America's status quo.

The threat has been met with repression. The number of priests, nuns and delegates murdered runs into the tens of thousands in El Salvador and Guatemala. Estimates in Nicaragua are much lower, in the few hundreds, because almost to the end of the dictatorship the Somozas lacked the will—or the understanding of what was happening—to move forcefully against the church or the base communities. The years 1978 and 1979 were the most dangerous for catechists and delegates, when Somoza's National Guard hunted the reunions of Bible groups for their destruction, and even broke up official masses. In Rivas *campesinos* had a charismatic leader in Padre Gaspar García Laviana, a missionary of the Order of the Sacred Heart from Spain. In 1978 Gaspar became "Miguel," the *nom de guerre* he took as a rebel under Eden Pastora's Sandinista banner. Today he is revered as Commandante Gaspar, a martyr who died for his people.

Symbiosis: The Sandinista's victory has probably done more for liberation theology than any event since Medellín. Coming only nine years—a twinkling in ecclesiastical terms—after the bishops' conference, the Nicaraguan "process" has had almost that long to influence the evolution of the "preferential option for the poor," otherwise untested in Latin America. Today Nicaragua is half of a double-helix of social change—the twin strands of radical politics and radical theology—and each day the revolution survives, its effects on Latin America's future becomes more entrenched. Where Castro banned—or tried to ban—the church from Cuba, the Sandinistas have had the luxury of an already vibrant popular church as a long-term ally. What's more, the base communities provide supporters whose mettle was tested under the hardest of conditions and whose loyalty has not been compromised.

The Comunidad Cristiana de Pilas-Coyol was a window to this relationship between the Sandinista front and the radical church. Pilas, a village of 200 *campesinos*, has one grocery store, two public wells and more cattle and pigs than people. It's too small for a church—the nearest is in Tola—and the houses bunch together in little compounds as families grow through marriage.

Twenty CEPA community delegates had been waiting for three days for our arrival with a group that included Baptist and Episcopal clergy members, seminary students and U.S. Sanctuary movement workers. Communications being what they are in the Third World, CEPA gave only "around lunchtime, some day this week" as our estimated time of arrival. And transport being what it is in Nicaragua, no one could be sure we would really be coming.

After two lunches passed, most Pilas probably felt they had been stood up. None of us was prepared for the rapt reception as disappointment melted into tearful joy. We quickly arranged chairs into a circle in the village school's classroom and introduced ourselves. The delegates rose solemnly to present summaries of a commitment to either the Sandinistas, the local cooperatives, or the community (or all three).

Eighteen of the Pilas delegates we met



Sister Fabiola, a Guatemalan nun, is distributing Bibles and hymn books. After readings from Exodus and from Luke, the villagers discuss the meaning of the readings, the war and economic crisis in Nicaragua, and the meaning of living their faith in one another.

were women, five of them either catechists first radicalized by Padre Gaspar, the martyr from Spain. Three generations of women—some wearing their hair in Andrews Sisters-style cascades, their mothers in even more traditional Mayan buns, others in the close-cropped curls you see in Managua—sit in the driver's seats of change in this village. The women selected each of us for a home, reintroducing us to our hosts, and advising us that we would be meeting for a celebration of the word after sundown. Two days of dialogue had been planned down to the minute.

We had planned originally to stay for three days, but decided to drop one day when we learned that most families had been reduced to near-starvation rations after a severe drought had wiped out most of the year's first harvest. It was CEPA's concern, and ours, that the excitement of visitors would bring out the best traditions of hospitality, and the worst lack of common sense, and dangerously deplete the villagers' larders as they sought to outdo each other with "fiestas" for their guests.

Carlito: Carlos Alberto Gonzalez, a "delegate of the word," weighs less than 100 pounds and looks no older than 13 years, but in fact he is 20 years old. He is the only member of his household who has spent even a day in school, the only member who can read and write. So, with his mother María Pilar, he is the final arbiter of any decision concerning finances, health and the future. His father ran off when Carlito was an infant, taking a new wife and an older son, Felipe, with him. Marriages being fairly casual affairs in this part of the world, it wasn't long before María Pilar took up with a new husband and, in time, two more.

She didn't have much choice, of course, since women of the village survive mainly thanks to the grace of a man who owns, or more often can work, arable farmland. The

few who manage to break the cycle of too many children for too many years usually do so under extraordinary circumstances—like entering a convent. María Pilar's circumstances were ordinary.

But she was fortunate. After Carlito came Rufino, now 15, and Esteban, 12, followed by Julio and Alejandro José, six and seven. Two other infants died before they could walk, and a little girl, Tomasita, came along five years ago. Now husbandless after more than 20 years of birthing, she has enough grown sons to support the family. Both Carlito and Rufino can earn a full day's pay hiring out to the private hacienda nearby. During harvest time, when hands are short, so can Esteban.

Alejandro José and Julio are coming up fast, already pulling their weight tending the chickens and pigs, hauling water or sharpening the many machetes. Tomasita is old enough to fetch lemons and guavas and the other edibles that fall to the ground. She's also old enough to compete for the attention of a man, flirting incessantly.

The house, which is actually a shack, stands on a piece of caked mud about 50 feet square. A well and two plantain trees take up half the area, with the one-room structure rounding out the property. It's more a home under construction than anything else, with a stack of lumber defining one wall, and piles of brick and half-moon clay tiles littering the front patio. God willing, there will be enough time this December to start replacing the rude stick-and-wattle walls with something more permanent. There aren't enough bricks for more than the first few rows. God willing, a few will be there for the scrounging before the construction begins anew.

"Inside" is enough space for a single table and two folding chairs. A tree stump, made shiny by years of kids' behinds, serves as table or chair. Six homemade cots spend the

day folded in a stack against the wall. There is also an open cook stove and a "sink," a square of tin with wooden slats tacked together for sides. It drains into a trough outside for the pigs. The view of the dirt road to Pilas is this housewife's only diversion. Two water jugs, fired clay shaped like the urns tourists buy to remind them of "pre-Columbian artifacts," round out the amenities.

The fight for food: The family's day starts before dawn, when the pigs and chickens start their squalling. Breakfast is a reminder of Nicaragua's economic situation. The warm beans taste smoky. Because there is no cooking oil, they're boiled with ashes. The coffee is watery and much too sweet. Nicaragua sells as much coffee abroad as it can to meet hard-currency needs. Only the dregs are left for local consumers.

By 5:00 the sun is up, and growing hotter by the minute. Donna and I, with Carlito and his brother Rufino, are across the barbed wire and starting our climb. Wide corn fields, with thick, mature stalks, stretch along the flat bottom land. They belong to the *hacienda*. A *campesino* is working his bean plot a few hundred meters farther up. He is a small producer, growing enough for his family and some for commercial sale in Rivas. Even farther up, past a thicket of brush and softwood and his neighbor's high corn field are Carlito's three fields—corn, rice and wheat (to be doubled-cropped with beans in a few more weeks)—sloping toward the mountain top.

The odds are stacked against Carlito and his brother. Three fields, one week per month for each one, three weeks devoted to nothing but chopping away weeds. They make better time when Carlito and Rufino are working together. But there is also food to buy, and seed, fertilizer and chemicals. The fertilizer Carlito buys in Tola has to be bought before the first planting. He needs 600 pounds to prepare his three *milpas*, at

a cost of 6,500 Nicaraguan *cordobas*. Pesticide costs 5,500 *cordobas* per litre. He needs 12 liters to keep all his crops pest-free until the harvest. Spraying is a three-man job, so he has to hire a third worker to fumigate, at a cost of 2,000 *cordobas* per treatment. Total cost: 18,000 *cordobas* each growing season.

Carlito and Rufino can each earn 2,000 *cordobas* every day they work at the private hacienda down the road. Or they can take a transport to one of the UPD's (Unidad de Produccion Estatal, the Sandinista state farms), where they receive only 1,600. In a week of chopping Carlito and his brother could earn almost 25,000 *cordobas*, and let their own fields go to rot. So they have to work half-days and half-weeks, fine-tuning their brutish lives while walking a thin line between a future where they might hope to work only the land they own, and a present where any unforeseen setback—sickness, lack of rain, the loss of an arm or leg—can mean ruin.

For María Pilar the nightmare is trying to feed her family. In addition to the fertilizer, seed and pesticide, there is food to be found from now until October, when the wheat crop comes in. "Luxury" items like medicine, milk, even candles are bought on a need-only basis. Rice at the state Ministry of Internal Commerce and Industry (MICOIN) in Pilas costs only 1,000 *cordobas* per pound, sold only twice each month at that price and even then on a limited basis according to the size of one's family. The two local MICOINs had no rice at any price. There was rice at the non-Sandinista store in Pilas at a cost almost prohibitively expensive. Despite the government's best intentions, shopping in rural Nicaragua offers little more than two tiers of inflation: very high and higher.

Some food is available in the wild. Fruits can be picked off the trees. *Yuca*, a pasty tuber that can be boiled, roasted or fried is dug from the ground. Also available nearby are cucumbers, squash and pumpkins. María Pilar's chickens don't get enough protein scratching around to lay their own eggs but a neighbor's do, and those eggs can be bought or bartered for.

In a culture like Nicaragua's, where virtually every family either works the land, lives on the land, or is no more than a generation removed from the *campo*, food may be the single most important symbol of daily life. Food is status, wealth, entertainment and hospitality, and cooking it, finding it, growing it and, most of all, enjoying it seemed more immediate in people's lives than anything else.

The politics of dirt and rain: *Gracias a Dios, gracias a las lluvias*, Carlito says—thanks to God, thanks to the rains—his three fields will bring in enough of a harvest this fall to tide the family over until next spring. May is when Pilas' other rice and corn crop comes in, lost in 1987 because of the drought. With God's help he and his brothers will drag 500 pounds of rice off the mountain, along with 1,000 pounds of beans and 2,000 of corn. After three or four years of such harvests Carlito may have a chance to cultivate even more land, and use low-interest loans to pay for seed and fertilizer, and go without the wages he and Rufino have to earn on the *hacienda*. That's the hope. *Gracias a Dios*.

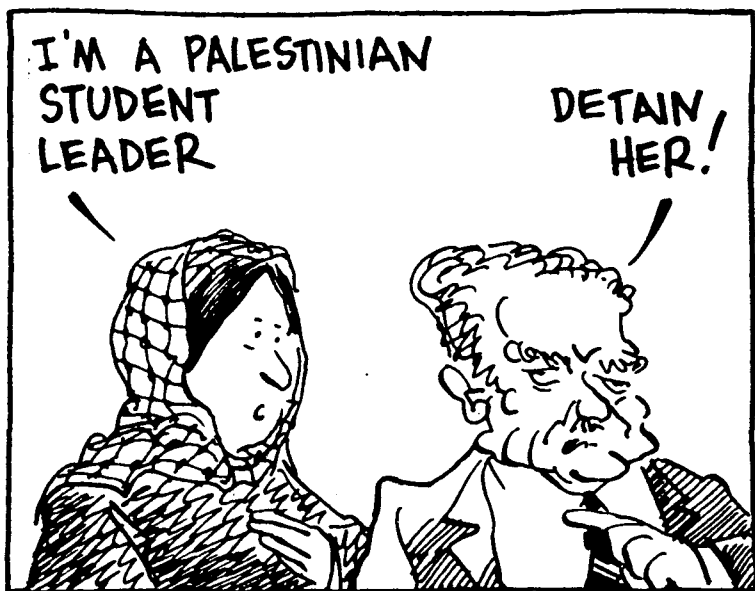
At the present Carlito owns only the right to cultivate his fields, but not the land itself. It's a common arrangement in Nicaragua today, with *campesinos* given plots of land from either state-appropriated farms or

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EDITORIAL



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Israel has now reached the point of no return

Two events in recent days illuminate the alternatives now facing Israel in the Occupied Territories. One was the burying alive of four Palestinians by an Israeli bulldozer on February 5. The other was the virtually total observance of a Palestinian "day of anger" on February 16.

The burial, described by one witness on Israeli television, occurred when a soldier ordered four youths to lie face down on the ground, "hit them on their heads and told the soldier driving the bulldozer to run them over." When the driver refused to do so, "he was told to cover them," the witness said. Israelis were genuinely shocked by this "barbarism," as one Hebrew-language newspaper called it. The general commanding Israeli troops in the West Bank said "even in my worst dreams, I would never imagine such a thing," adding that he had constantly warned his officers that "the most awful things can happen when soldiers find themselves all of a sudden commanding and deciding the lives of civilians."

But as an editor at the *Jerusalem Post* said, "When you allow people to beat and harass, that's one of the results. The minister of defense and generals think you can control it, but you cannot."

The "day of anger" was something quite different. It was a non-violent response in which steel shutters were pulled down over shops and streets were deserted in every village, town and refugee camp in the West Bank and Gaza. A striking demonstration of universal Palestinian opposition to continued Israeli occupation, the protest underlined the depth of feeling and determination that has taken Israel and the world by surprise.

Facing the inevitable: As these two events indicate, Israel—and the Reagan administration—face two alternatives: interminable violence in the Occupied Territories, and possibly within Israel itself, or recognition that they must come to terms with a people united, who cannot be defeated. The first alternative is clearly suicidal. The events of the past month have already begun to tear the fabric of Israeli society, and to shrivel the little support Israel still has in the community of nations. For the sake of its own survival, Israel must now face the necessity of making peace by negotiation, not by force.

But neither the major parties in Israel, nor the U.S. State Department,

are willing to negotiate with their enemy. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of the Likud party is willing only to have direct negotiations with Jordan, which does not represent the Palestinian people, and which now declines to negotiate for them. Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres of the Labor Party wants "negotiations with Jordan and the Palestinian people...under international auspices." The State Department wants an international conference that would exclude the PLO, which the U.S. officially describes as a terrorist organization that refuses to accept U.N. Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

Facing the truth: But the recent demonstrations have forced every honest observer to concede that the PLO is the only organization that can negotiate for the Palestinian people. This has caused the American media—and the administration—desperately to seek a "new leadership" among West Bank Palestinians. To no avail: the PLO is the same PLO we have known all along. It, and it alone, can negotiate for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

And it is ready to negotiate, contrary to the claims of the State Department and the traditional American Jewish leadership, on the basis of U.N. resolutions 242 and 338. Yasser Arafat made that clear once again last month, when he called for an international peace conference under U.N. auspices with PLO participation. "As this will be under U.N. auspices," Arafat told the Associated Press, "the full legality...of all U.N. resolutions, including 242 and 338" would be recognized. To assure Israel about its security alongside a future Palestinian state, Arafat added, the PLO would allow U.N. troops to patrol the border on Palestinian territory.

This position received strong support from a coalition of Arab states last week. The coalition, which includes Syria, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states, says they will support only one peace process—an international conference supervised by the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, and attended by the PLO.

In short, all the pieces are now in place to end 40 years of war between Israel and the Palestinians—except a willing Israeli government and the Reagan administration. But it is now inescapably clear that there is no longer any excuse for refusing this solution, and no alternative except disaster. As Israeli novelist Amos Oz told an overflow meeting in Tel Aviv one week ago, "Anyone who says this will pass and things will calm down either doesn't understand what is happening or is brazenly lying."

"I'm for a Palestinian state," he said, "because that is the way to life. All other roads lead to death."

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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NATIONAL WRITERS UNION

CGU

What's behind In These Times' Jackson stance?

I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT YOU ARE VERY MISINFORMED when you editorialize (*ITT*, Feb. 3) that "DSA [s endorsement] brings nothing to [presidential candidate Jesse] Jackson except its name, which he can do without."

In Baltimore, as in many other cities throughout the country, support from predominantly white DSA adds substance to the image of Jackson's appeal as multiracial. DSA brings candidates for election to the Democratic party convention to the Jackson campaign, helping to round out several of the full slates offered in Maryland's eight congressional districts. DSA brings into the Jackson camp a well-maintained mailing list, phone volunteers, voter registration activists, door-to-door canvassers and many people skilled in local political activity—and all at a critical time, pre-Super Tuesday, rather than after the fact. It is through strengthening the Jackson campaign now, rather than endorsing him or anyone else later, that DSA may best "influence other candidates."

I frankly suspect that you are simply one of those "many...close to [DSA who] cannot stomach" this candidate, possibly because of "Jackson's anti-Semitism." I am sorry you remain fixated with remarks made in 1984, rather than any more current, as the basis for your pigeon-holing; can it be that he has reformed his thinking since then, leaving you with nothing fresher on which to base your analysis?

Louis Brendan Curran, Esq.
Baltimore

RECENT LETTERS TO *ITT* ON DEMOCRATIC socialism and the Nicaraguan revolution have tended to forsake serious analysis for tendentious shouting. The resulting clamor has lent little grace or cogency to an important debate. In your editorial on Jesse Jackson (*ITT*, Feb. 3) you make a commendable attempt at defending the positions originally advanced by John Judis, but your argument still lacks reason.

Since the death of Eugene Debs, socialists have not managed to recreate a credible third party. We have been stuck in the frustrating position of trying, without great success, to do several things at once: remain true to our socialist and democratic principles with hopes of seeing them realized in a future society, appeal to citizens who have been led by the capitalist media to equate socialism with despotism, and exercise whatever influence for progressive social policies we can muster within the Democratic Party and the government. The tensions that crop up between these aims stimulate healthy debates in groups like Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

In disputing DSA's vote to endorse Jackson, you lose sight of the compelling claims made by each of those traditional socialist aims. You even seem, in certain watery passages, to sacrifice the hope of socialism for an awkward progressive liberalism.

You claim that an endorsement makes DSA "a captive of the Jackson campaign," while a calmer look would surely find that it actually does nothing so drastic. You worry about "eliminating any chance to influence other candidates," without giving us cause to lay aside our suspicions that no other candidate would likely grant DSA even a momentary audience. You further fret that the endorsement might alienate some possible or actual DSA members, like yourselves. Overlooked is the equal possibility that others, like myself, might gain greater respect for the group because of its decision.

You also shy from Jackson himself. You admit that Jackson has helped the left, but are quick to clarify that he is "not of the left." No kidding. Who leans further left? Presumably, we should turn from Jackson to the plethora of available left candidates, like Gephardt and Dukakis.

Christopher Phelps
Portland, Ore.

YOUR EDITORIAL ON THE DEMOCRATIC Socialists of America's (DSA) endorsement of Jesse Jackson is a welcome contribution to the debate, but we disagree totally with your analysis.

Jackson represents an important social democratic campaign. A social democratic position leads in the direction of socialism. DSA has long described itself as the left wing of the possible. We have long said that we would be a socialist presence within a broad social democratic left. Why then should we not support Jackson?

It is simply not accurate to state that DSA brings nothing to the Jackson campaign. DSA brings to the Jackson campaign a network of experienced political activists in cities around the country, a very valuable commodity. Similar to our efforts in Chicago in the Washington campaign, DSA brings a substantial white presence to the Rainbow an important contribution. We have already brought a network of DSA labor activists to form Labor for Jackson groups around the country. The DSA's Latino commission has contributed to the broadening of the Rainbow in the Latino community. The DSA newsletter *Our Struggle/Nuestra Lucha* has provided a critical bridge to a campaign short on literature. DSA's presence in the feminist communities provides an important opening to this vital movement.

Participation in the Jackson campaign also brings many things to DSA. First it is an opportunity to practice the politics we have been talking about for five years. Second: DSA, like much of the left and *In These Times*, suffers from a dominance of the white left. It is unlikely that a socialist organization will become a serious contender in the U.S. without the working class, and the U.S. working class is multi-ethnic. DSA activists need experience working within such coalitions. A broad social democratic electoral coalition is being developed; we should not avoid the coalition because it is primarily led by blacks. DSA remains a socialist presence within the coalition, hopefully drawing several black, Latino and Asian activists to a democratic socialist organization.

As to allegations that we will push some away from DSA, the resolution was careful to respect those within DSA who would prefer another candidate. Among the others

who you describe as "close to the organization," we suspect you include yourselves. Well, as Michael Harrington has said at least a thousand times, if you are a socialist then you need to belong to and build a socialist organization.

We lose little in our "chance to influence other candidates." Our influence with the yuppie candidates is non-existent. Our influence with the liberals comes from our positions in our unions which we retain and will use to advance the democratic aspirations of our union members. As DSA co-chair Barbara Ehrenreich said so well at the convention, one of the great things about the end of Reaganism is that we can return to advocating socialism. We have been doing the liberals' work for them, defending liberals' agenda while they hid.

Duane E. Campbell
Chair, Anti-Racism Commission
Democratic Socialists of America

Dolores Delgado Campbell
West Coast Co-Chair, Latino Commission
DSA
Sacramento, Calif.

Missing the point

FIRST, A MEA CULPA. SAYING THAT JESSE Jackson was not of the left was a mistake, and a particularly unfortunate one for us because we define the American left broadly and inclusively. What I meant to write was that although "Jackson has appealed to the left"—in order to create an electoral base—and in the process "has helped strengthen the left," he is not committed to building the left except insofar as it helps him immediately. This was clear in his campaign's obvious discomfort at the prospect of a DSA endorsement.

We were critical of Jackson in some respects, but we wrote that "in most respects he is much better than his rivals," and that he has played a progressive role in "raising and taking good positions on issues other candidates shy away from." Furthermore, as anyone who reads *In These Times* regularly surely knows, we have as a matter of policy given Jackson a good deal more coverage than the other Democrats. We do not consider this "opposition to Jackson," as Michael Urban would have it.

Indeed, we have seen Jackson as a god-send for the left. His campaign has provided it with a way to be involved in presidential politics without taking any initiative of its own. And he has opened many leftists' eyes to the possibilities of a meaningful mainstream politics.

Glasnost: Here's our full disclosure statement: We are not against Jackson, though we think it important to recognize his shortcomings—including his anti-Semitism, which was recently expressed in his reference to "Jewish support" of South Africa, when he meant Israeli support. And we think the left should understand its true relationship to him. Beyond that, we have no agenda, secret or otherwise. What you read is all there is.

But none of this changes our view about the appropriateness of DSA as a national organization endorsing Jackson, or anyone else, at this point.

This does not mean that we believe local chapters of DSA—those, like the Baltimore chapter, that do have local constituencies

YOU HAVE PROCLAIMED YOUR SUPPORT FOR GLASNOST in the Soviet Union. Will you do the same for glasnost at *ITT*?

How can your readers accept at face value your editorial (*ITT*, Feb. 3) criticizing DSA's endorsement of Jesse Jackson? Surely your position was not adopted because of the reasons you purport: the "personalized" (to use your word) views of one of Jackson's former speechwriters (two paragraphs to say that she believes Jackson to be a headline-chasing self-promoter); Jackson's "Hymietown" remarks of 1984; the assertion that Jackson "has helped strengthen the left. But he is not of the left."

Did you expect your readers not to notice the quick shuffle that followed this, specifically the attempt to shift attention from your opposition to Jackson to your self-professed concern for the members and future of DSA?

Assumedly, some reason moved you to come out against Jackson. *Glasnost* requires that you share them with us.

Michael Urban
Auburn, Ala.

and can participate in local coalitions as equals—should not endorse him. They should, if so inclined. This, however, does not require a national endorsement. Chapters that want to work for Jackson would do so whether the national DSA took a position or not—just as those locals who don't want to support him won't, despite the convention's decision.

It's good to hear about Baltimore, but the Chicago story was something else. Yes, the DSA local mobilized some 250 people to canvass for Harold Washington's election as mayor. This helped Washington marginally, and was all to the good from that point of view. But the people mobilized were not used to create a DSA constituency in Chicago. Out of a lack of either imagination or boldness, DSA did not run a candidate of its own for alderman in 1983. When the election was over Washington had no reason to deal with DSA as he did with other groups having constituencies of their own. One result was that DSA had no influence in his administration, even though Washington was more clearly a person of the left than Jackson. Another was that after the election the people mobilized were left with nothing to do, and the chapter disintegrated.

The issue of endorsement is not Jackson. It is that an endorsement brings little or nothing to Jackson and does little or nothing to help DSA. That is our concern.

If DSA is going to be an organization whose primary function is to organize activities like the Democratic Agenda conferences, then identification with one candidate is a hindrance. If it is to be an organization that mobilizes relatively small numbers of people in a few cities to canvass, telephone or register voters, then, in the long run, it is superfluous. A national organization of socialists, if it is to play any role in American politics, must develop a program to accommodate the nation to the profound changes taking place in our economy, and then begin building a constituency—through nationally coordinated local campaigns. Only when it has local constituencies loyal to a meaningful program will it gain the attention and respect of presidential candidates.

—James Weinstein

By Michael Harrington

IS SOCIALISM RELEVANT TO THE LATE 20th and 21st centuries? And if so what does one mean by "socialism"? In any case, why identify as a socialist in the U.S. where the very word invites misunderstanding at best, and a frantic, ignorant rejection at worst? Given all of these problems what is the point of a socialist organization in this country?

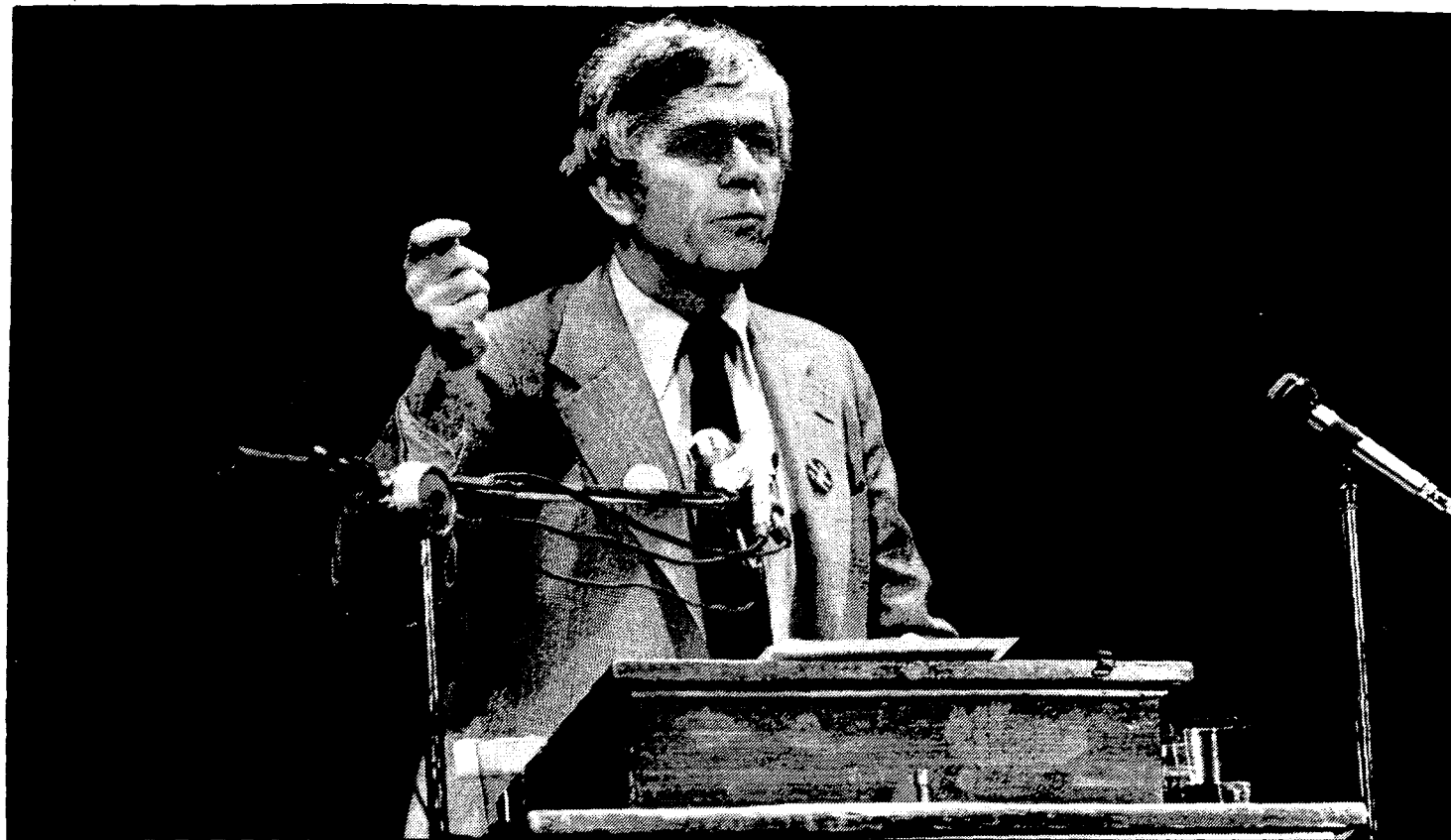
These issues were raised in one way or another in the *In These Times* discussion of the recent Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) convention. But rather than respond to individual points, articles or letters, I will explore these underlying questions. First, the socialist critique of power under both capitalism and communism is not only substantial in and of itself; it also makes a significant contribution to the cause of incremental reform as well as to a radical restructuring of society.

Power, that critique argues, is systemic, North, South, East and West, and reproduces itself along with its mutually reinforcing social evils. In the various systems of power in the world today, the control of investment, of basic economic allocations, is not the only source of domination—racism and sexism persist in all systems—but it is the single most important constituent. Those in charge of investment, be they corporate executives or commissars, will claim and get unequal treatment for themselves on the grounds that they act in the interest of the future of the entire society and must therefore have the resources to do their job. And those who are excluded from the function will be forced to pay all the social costs of decisions made on high.

The example of homelessness: In a superficial analysis, the tremendous growth of homelessness in the late '70s and '80s is simply a result of the deinstitutionalization of mental patients in the '60s. But that analysis contradicts the data, which increasingly shows that the homeless are families and that two-thirds of them do not have histories of mental and emotional problems; it also fails to explain why the deinstitutionalization of the '60s did not lead to a dramatic rise in homelessness until the late '70s.

A more serious—liberal—analysis would recognize that this homelessness is a function of decreased real income and increased poverty among the working poor and a decline in the supply of private and government-sponsored affordable housing. From this point of view, one would quite rightly attack New York Mayor Ed Koch for providing tax incentives for the destruction of single-room-occupancy hotels (SROs)—but note that the SROs themselves were utterly inadequate even if they were better than the streets.

A socialist analysis would deepen those liberal insights. It would see Koch's action as one more example of the system at work: of government policy subsidizing private, profit-making and often anti-social priorities, usually on the grounds of a "trickle-down." It would understand the decline in the real wage and the increase in the poverty of working people as a systemic response to the crisis of profitability and productivity in the mid-'70s. And it would stress not simply a program for decent "shelter," but the necessity of democratizing the entire process of investment in this,



Michael Harrington, best known for his *Poverty in America*, founded the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Socialists help shape the best in our politics

and other, basic needs of life. It would also show that, had the community health centers projected in the '60s been built—or more broadly, if America finally got national health care—then the problem of the deinstitutionalized mental patients would never have become the outrage it now is.

That socialist conception of a housing program would not, however, simply specify so many "units." It would urge a planned development of racially and socially integrated communities with public spaces and facilities for new institutions of neighborhood democracy and control. And it would try to reach out to build political support for such an undertaking by uniting the homeless in a coalition with young families from the working class and middle class as well as with those seniors who do not want to be segregated on the basis of age.

The socialist point is that these reforms, which many liberals would support on an ad hoc basis, must be as coherent as the structures they oppose, that what is needed is not simply a new housing bill but a new way of making and designing social investments in areas of critical need. And even if one has to settle politically for something less than that, a proposal designed on the basis of this principle will be different from the product of liberal concern with a single issue. Rep. Ron Dellums' (D-CA) national health bill gives people at the base a say in non-technical medical decisions; it is not just a matter of "health insurance." And indeed, every socialist program is about changing the distribution of power in the way decisions are made.

The Soviet Union and Third World: Similarly, a socialist response to what is happening under Mikhail Gorbachov in the Soviet Union would not simply stress the importance of pursuing peace negotiations even more vigorously in order to encourage

glasnost and *perestroika*. It would put Gorbachov's progressive, but technocratic, reforms in the context of an analysis that sees bureaucratic resistance to change in the Soviet Union as a function of an anti-democratic system of power in which even positive initiatives are initiated behind the backs of the people. And it would argue that American unilateral peace initiatives toward verifiable Big Power agreements may well—and hopefully will—create the long-run conditions for a democratization of Soviet society that goes beyond the current agenda in Moscow.

In the case of the Third World, one can be even more specific. The response to the international debt crisis—and the global structure of inequality that undergirds it—of the Socialist International, under the leadership of Michael Manley and Willy Brandt (and, until his death, Olof Palme), is a perfect example of what is needed. A major transfer of funds from North to South, the International has shown, could create jobs in the First World as well as the Third. International justice could be an engine of growth for U.S. workers, could provide an alternative to the chauvinist attitudes that sometimes accompany the justified anger of people under advanced capitalism with the systemic irresponsibility of multinational corporations.

Yes, but: All these negatives and criticisms are well and good, someone might say. But isn't the socialist movement itself in a profound crisis even in those countries where it has a mass base? What about the spectacular failure of the French Socialists when they had an absolute parliamentary majority and control of the presidency as well?

There is no doubt that the "Keynesian" version of social democracy, which dominated the European movement from 1950 to about 1975, is in a profound crisis. The

French Socialists were subjected to the brutal discipline of the world's banks because their socially based Keynesian programs generated more jobs in Japan and Germany than in France. Even as one searches for a new response to this reality, it should be at least noted that it is one more example of how elite corporate power—in this case exercised by multinational banks and corporations—systematically subverts the decisions of democratic electorates. That explains, but does not change, the fact: socialism today is in a deep crisis.

For those who think of socialism as a recipe, as some kind of Platonic idea to be implemented in reality, that crisis might seem terminal, particularly if they had equated Keynesian social democracy with socialism. But if one puts this development in historic perspective it becomes clear that new departures are now required, not fatalistic surrender.

At the very origins of the modern socialist movement in the 19th century, there was a basic insight that will be even truer in the 21st century than when it was first formulated. Capitalism was understood as a system of private socialization, creating a genuine world market for the first time in human history, applying science to production, linking people together in an unprecedented interdependence. But because that socialization was private, it was pursued at the expense of society. Socialism was conceived of as a purpose of democratic socialization from below, as a movement to put the people in control of the economic conditions that determine so much about their lives.

That basic goal has been understood over the past century and a half in many, many ways, some of them wrong, some leading to partial victories, none even beginning to achieve the fullness of the original vision. And matters were complicated when a system of anti-democratic socialization emerged in which the party-state carried out the brutal process of accumulation that was the work of capitalism in the West, and used the rhetoric of socialism to rationalize new forms of class rule.

Now that the Keynesian version of socialism, of a managed capitalism in which socialist governments diverted part of the surplus to the work of social justice, is in crisis, the mass socialist movements of the world are indeed confused and even bewildered about the next steps toward democratic socialization. This is roughly the third time that this has happened: it occurred right after World War I when the socialists suddenly got political power and did not know what to do with it, and at the time of the Depression when, with the exception of the Swedes, there was a general programmatic and political failure of the movement.

At the same time, the objective need for socialism has become all the more imperative. The multinationalization of the world economy is creating a more and more interdependent globe, striking at the workers and communities of advanced capitalism as well as at the poor countries. Revolutionary new technologies are undermining even the limited accomplishments of capitalist welfare states.

What kind of change? There is no question now as to whether there will be radical change in the immediate future. It is already underway. The only issue is how it will be carried out. Will it come from on high, at the social and economic cost of the mass of people in every society and through a repression of freedom? Or can socialists, faced with a reality they never imagined, work out effective programs of structural change that move in the direction of a truly democratic socialization of the world?

There is now "too much" food in the world—and people starving to death; "too much" steel capacity and masses desperately in need of housing and transit, which use steel. And there will be, within the next year or two, a crisis of the world economy that will not automatically engender a progressive response, but which will make such a political response possible. At that point, some of those who now assume that the determinants of Reagan's America (and Thatcher's Britain, Kohl's Germany, Chirac's France, to cite a few of the obvious cases) are eternal will look around for a socialist movement with positive answers. These cannot be predicted now, but it is clear that they will be distinctively internationalist, anti-racist, feminist and "green" as well as oriented to the working class, both old and new.

Eliminate the negative? But why not

just insist on the socialist specifics and omit any mention of the socialist name itself? Why not, as the original Campaign for Economic Democracy proposed, socialism without the "s-word"?

It is not just that the right wing will not let you get away with it, although that is true (they routinely denounce liberalism as socialist). It is not even primarily because the historic function of American anti-socialism is to fight liberal reforms, not a non-existent socialist threat, and that an attack on that anti-socialism will broaden the political spectrum in a country that has a right and a center but no real left. Even more important, if one pretends that one is not a socialist, or speaks in euphemisms, all that is lost is the basic clarity of analysis and program. You cannot talk, or think, about the present crisis without understanding its roots in the systemic complex of corporate capitalist power. We can try to communicate that fact in the most effective possible rhetoric—and many socialists do wrongly think that it is "radical" to talk in such a way as to infuriate the average American—but we cannot conceal the basic reality from others and, above all, from ourselves.

Second, socialists have had significant impact on power in America even if, for complex historic reasons, they have never come close to achieving power. The role of the 1912 Debsian immediate program in introducing the concepts of the welfare state of the New Deal is well known (though it is often not recognized that that 1912 program is still to the left of what has been achieved). So is the critical importance of

Socialism is not an economic program or a recipe. It is a basic moral and intellectual reformation.

socialists, communists, Trotskyists and anarchists in struggling for industrial unionism, which led to the Congress of Industrial Organizations. More recently, David Garrow has documented how Martin Luther King, Jr., saw himself as part of that socialist tradition (a fact that I knew from my own work with Dr. King). And the feminist, anti-interventionist and Citizens' Action move-

ments clearly built upon the radical tradition of the '60s.

I also think of the generation of economists now in their late 30s and early 40s, the men and women who will provide many of the practical ideas of the next mass left. Every one of them comes out of the New Left and the socialist tradition and, however they now define themselves, they are a part of that ongoing socialist contribution to practical politics.

But why, then, socialist organization? Why the backbreaking, frustrating work of building DSA against the tremendous odds of Reagan's America? Simply put, because there is no individualistic way of showing people that democratic and communitarian action is critical to the future. More broadly, the times are already a-changing. The moral and intellectual fatigue that so many burnt-out veterans of the past 20 years feel blinds them to the fact that, within a year or two or three, there is going to be a new generation of change in America.

I remember the Eisenhower—and Joe McCarthy—'50s. They were worse than anything that happened in the Reagan '80s. And when the moment of change came—none of us who had been waiting for years for that blessed break understood that it actually happened on a day in February 1960 when four black students in North Carolina decided to have an integrated cup of coffee—a decimated left was utterly incapable of rising to the enormous new opportunities.

I do not think that the '60s would have been totally different had there been a continuity with the radicalism of the '30s and '40s and '50s—had there been the equivalent of a DSA in February 1960. I do think that there would have been a difference, that perhaps people would not have had to spend so much time reinventing the wheel, sometimes badly, that perhaps the histories of Students for a Democratic Society and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee would have benefitted.

A '90s left: And I think right now that the different and laborious work of DSA—the struggle to make the anti-intervention movement as broad as possible and to involve the unions and the churches in it; the campaign to make disarmament the beginning of the work of international economic and social justice; the attempt to define the issues of poverty and racism and sexism as problems of economic and social structures

rather than discrete evils; the coalition meetings with activists from the unions, the new social strata, the minority movements and all the rest—is going to make a profound contribution to the '90s left. We are not going to lead the nation and, thank God, have abandoned any Messianic pretense of being the anointed vanguard of history.

But when the moment comes, when that pilgrimage of women and men toward the realization of their own humanity begins again, as it will, we will be there. DSA itself may well disappear at that moment, its cadres and energy and ideas being absorbed into new organizational forms that we cannot now even imagine. And yet it will be there.

Those who lose heart on the very eve of a new generation of change should remember the profound truth Antonio Gramsci articulated from a jail cell in a decade that saw the triumph of fascism—and, with an exception or two, the spectacular failure of socialism and the destruction of the Russian Revolution by Stalinism. Socialism, Gramsci said, was not a matter of a political victory on this or that day, or even this or that decade. It was not an economic program, a recipe. It was a "moral and intellectual reformation," a fight to transform the culture and will of those who had, from time immemorial, been made subordinate, the epochal work of the creation of a new civilization.

We live today in the most radical of times even though the temporary ascendancy of Reagan and his similars often conceals that fact. Humanity is fighting at this very moment over the content of that new civilization—of a new planet, if you will—and that struggle will go on beyond the lifetime of every one of us. There is no guarantee that the vision of a democratic and communitarian socialization will prevail over the bureaucrats and the technocrats who abound in this period. All socialism is—"all"—is the theory and practice that seeks to empower the people of the North, South, East and West to take control of their destiny for the first time.

Those who join the movement for the immediate rewards of power are advised to apply elsewhere. Those who are willing to wager their lives on the possibility of freedom and justice and solidarity should pay their dues.

Michael Harrington is co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America.

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Jack Amariglio, Managing Editor

a journal of political economy and social analysis

Secrets of the Temple: How the Federal Reserve Runs the Country

By William Greider
Simon & Schuster, 798 pp., \$24.95

By James North

THIS BIG BOOK IS A MASTERPIECE. It is like a giant code breaker of almost magical properties, which provides an indispensable guide to deciphering and understanding the dark Reagan years. What's more, it will impel its readers toward a revised view of certain features of the more distant American past. It is also the best single comprehensive analysis of world's the stagnant and dangerous economic predicament.

Like certain other masterpieces, it is sprawling and unwieldy and not without flaws. Its author is a smooth, veteran writer, but at times the scope of his task seems to thwart him. *Secrets of the Temple* is sometimes exasperatingly repetitious, sometimes irritatingly single-minded.

Its 800 pages are stuffed with clearly written basic economic theory; with history that draws intelligently on New Left contributions; with provocative philosophical and anthropological reflections; and with some of the most superb economic reporting ever. But most important, it is suffused with an independent, democratic spirit with honorable American antecedents. Greider is but one in a long series of eloquent populists who insist that people rather than experts should discuss and decide for themselves what is best for our national community.

Greider's basic thesis is simple. The money supply has an enormous effect throughout the economy. The central bank, in our country known as the Federal Reserve, decides how much money is actually put into circulation. In America, unlike, say, Great Britain, the central bank is largely insulated from the political process. It makes decisions that it insists are neutral and technical, but which are actually fundamentally political and profoundly effect the life of every American.

Over the past decade in particular, the unelected Federal Reserve, or "Fed," has made decisions that have greatly contributed to the closing of steel mills in Chicago and Pittsburgh, to the farm foreclosures in Iowa and Minnesota, to the de facto bankruptcies of Brazil and the Philippines, to the increase in the number of homeless people from New York to San Francisco, and, more tragically, to the documented increases in suicide, illness and domestic violence reported in economically depressed areas nationwide.

At the same time, the Fed's decisions have contributed to the further consolidation of economic power in the hands of the super-wealthy, and induced them to channel their



William Greider spills the *Secrets of the Temple*.

Still worshipping the once almighty dollar

wealth away from productive investment and into the socially useless wave of speculation and mergers that contributed to last year's October crash and pushed the world economy nearer the edge than it has been since 1929. Greider finds the Federal Reserve's undemocratic economic power unfair and dangerous. And he argues persuasively that the control of our country's destiny must be returned to our people.

It is sad but probably no surprise that *Secrets of the Temple* is not getting the reviews in the major media that it deserves. William Greider is from the mainstream; he did the famous *Atlantic Monthly* article which showed that David Stockman and other high Reagan administration officials did not believe the economic forecasts they were peddling to Congress to justify their irresponsible tax proposals. More recently, Greider regularly writes an important column in *Rolling Stone* that receives too little attention due to the frivolity of its neighborhood.

But some of the mainline reviewers—in *The New York Times* and *U.S. News and World Report*—have clearly been shaken by Greider's democratic populism. The greatest weapon in the hands of those who dominate and profit from the nation's present economic arrangement is the widespread belief among the victims that the shocks and changes of the recent past have been out of human control, that the collapse of, say, the American steel in-

William Greider presents a brilliant, comprehensive analysis of the world's stagnant and dangerous economic predicament.

dustry was as inevitable as fall becoming winter.

Greider debunks this view with some old-fashioned meticulous reporting. At the heart of his book are detailed interviews with former chairman Paul Volcker and other governors of the Federal Reserve Board. This legwork was essential to supplement the Board's own vague, after-the-fact reports. This small group—it numbers 12 for key decisions—guides the supply of money and sets interest rates,

THE FED

which are two of the most powerful economic tools available. Fed governors are selected by the president (with Senate approval) for 14-year terms. The length of their tenure is supposed to help guarantee that they will remain disinterested technocrats, outside, or rather above, politics.

Greider demonstrates convincingly that the Federal Reserve has carried out policies that favor the wealthy over the poor, those who can lend over those who must borrow, big corporations over small businesses, and the booming financial sector over enterprises that actually manufacture something.

For eight years the Fed has given top priority to holding down inflation. In so doing, it has kept the supply of money artificially tight and interest rates unnecessarily high. Volcker's defenders argue that he reduced inflation from its double-digit levels during the last Carter years. Greider counters convincingly that what matters are *real* interest rates—the gap between the posted rates and the rate of inflation. The posted rates have come down, but the inflation rate dropped faster. The real rates remain at high levels—a major factor in the stagnant economy.

In the '80s, the result of these Federal Reserve policies has been a redistribution of wealth toward the 10 percent of American families that own 86 percent of net financial worth, and away from the 55 percent of families that have accumulated nothing, aside from the homes that fewer of them are buying, and that all of them are finding it increasingly difficult to pay for. We are moving toward what Greider calls "a split-level economy," in which people on the lower level have only been able to delay their relative decline by running up personal debt to record heights, creating yet another threat to an already rickety economic structure.

Greider gets Volcker and the other Federal Reserve governors to explain the rationales behind their economic decisions. What emerges among these central bankers is not a conspiracy. But neither have their choices been purely technical. In essence, they responded to Wall

Street, to the world of finance from which so many of them came. Wall Street placed the highest value on halting inflation and protecting the value of its stocks and bonds; the Fed governors, almost without conscious reflection, identify the financial health of Wall Street with the economic health of the country.

But more important than what the governors did absorb is what they did *not* hear. As Greider says, "Elected politicians do have certain virtues, however, that technocratic managers usually lack. In politics, they do not pretend to scientific certitude and so they will listen more earnestly to the random evidence of distress from citizens at large." The Fed governors are not particularly articulate people; they awkwardly use the dry, euphemistic language of economics, in which a bank loan that is not being repaid is called "non-performing." But the central bankers do from time to time decry "pain" that they regret as the inevitable price to "wring inflation out of the system." But they did not suffer pain, nor did their main constituents in the financial world. Even more significantly, they did not have to go before the victims and justify, or even explain, their policies.

In a brilliant, lengthy digression, Greider points out that the money supply and interest rates were not always regarded as arcane subjects beyond the reach of the American people. The Populist movement of the 1890s called explicitly for an expanding money supply—to lift prices for agricultural products and provide easier credit to finance the nation's economic growth.

Greider is weakest when he outlines alternate policies that a central bank under democratic control might have followed in recent years. But there is so much in this book: a devastating refutation of monetarism that ought to keep Milton Friedman from ever resurfacing in public; a lengthy and convincing explanation for the weaknesses of the big banks (Paul Volcker apparently had plenty of time to attend to *their* problems); and ruminations on the morality of usury over the centuries.

Perhaps the book's dominant spirit was embodied in the choked rage of Manny Dembs, a Detroit home builder, who testified before the Senate Banking Committee in 1981. The Federal Reserve Board's abrupt shift on managing the nation's money supply was driving him out of business after 30 years. "I want the Reserve Board to retire themselves, the overall Reserve Board," Dembs sputtered. "We got the executive, we got the judicial, but we don't have the Federal Reserve Board as a form of government. They're economists, but they're running our country." ■ James North is the author of *Freedom Rising*.

Perking up the "dismal science"

Economics in Perspective: A Critical History

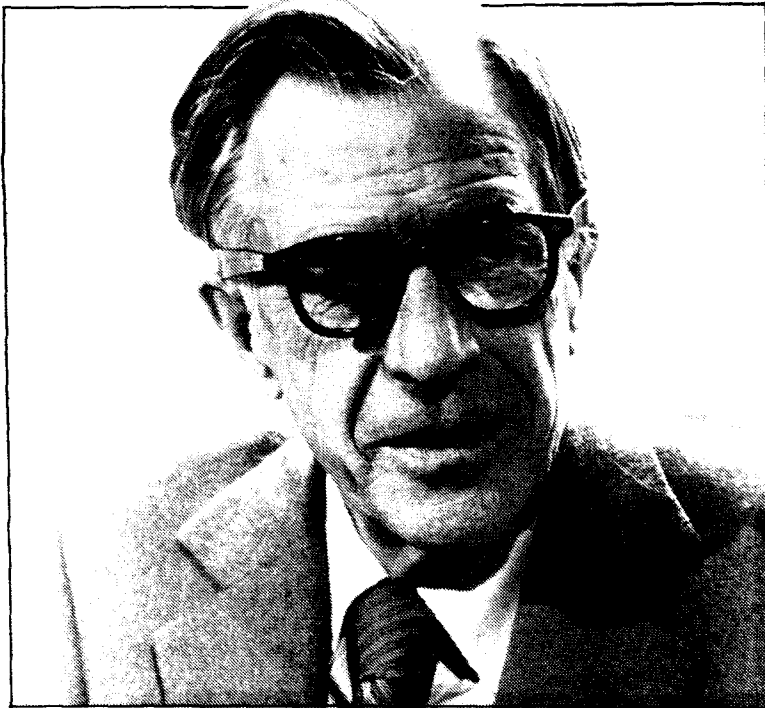
By John Kenneth Galbraith
Houghton Mifflin, 324 pp., \$19.95

By Rick Wilson

ACCORDING TO ECONOMIST JOHN Maynard Keynes, "Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist." In *Economics in Perspective*, John Kenneth Galbraith provides a guided tour of "funct" and defunct economists and their slaves from the ancient world to the '80s. And, in keeping with his previous work, he does so in a lively and irreverent way, cheerfully exposing the many ways that ideology, apologetics and "theology" have made this science so dismal.

Like sociologist Thorstein Veblen, whom he deeply admires, Galbraith is a skeptical free agent who subscribes to no orthodoxy. Unlike the iconoclast Veblen, he is experienced in public affairs. He served as an economist regulating wartime prices under FDR and was ambassador to India under JFK.

Galbraith begins with a discussion of the ancients. Here, as elsewhere in the book, his digressions are as worthwhile as his explanations. In discussing Plato's aristocratic communism, for example, he laments "Alas that so universal a figure might have rendered himself subject, had



John Kenneth Galbraith cuts through the dross.

he endured, to surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and denunciation by the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. "In the ancient and medieval world, economics was largely the handmaid of ethics and theology; only with the rise of capitalism did it become ethics and theology."

For Galbraith, the current obsession with the balance of trade is reminiscent of the mercantilists, who articulated the worldview of the rising merchant capitalists in their discovery that piracy, plunder, and more civilized forms of trade were powerful ways of winning friends

and influencing people. Thomas Malthus has had hordes of followers warning of overpopulation and arguing that charity and social programs only increase the "surplus population," although modern Malthusians seem to be worried more specifically about the birth of non-white babies. And of course there is Adam Smith, the patron saint of popular economics, whose vision is orthodoxy in a society that bears precious little resemblance to his own. Through it all, Galbraith notes that ethical and economic notions have had "a strong tendency to conform to what citizens of influence find it

agreeable to believe; they reflect what I have elsewhere called the Convenient Social Virtue."

The nay-sayers: But Galbraith also examines the great nay-sayers who refused to comfort the comforted. The unlikely spiritual father

ECONOMICS

of this group is the conservative David Ricardo, who fully articulated the disturbing notion that workers do not receive the full value of their labor, and that wages—all things being equal—tended to be just high enough to perpetuate the supply of labor.

This group of nay-sayers also includes the utopian Pierre Joseph Proudhon, who defined property as theft; Marx, whose ghost haunts the frontiers of orthodoxy just as the "spectre of communism" haunted the Europe of 1848; and perhaps even Keynes himself, who admitted that, at least sometimes, the emperor wears no clothes.

A recurring folly that Galbraith enjoys exposing is the persistent belief in monetary magic, the idea that, given the proper incantations, something can be created from nothing. Perhaps most relevant to the contemporary political scene is his persistent critique of militarism: "It should be a matter of reflection by all conservatives that war is the one thing an economic system is least likely to survive. And there should be further thought that those who

most earnestly portray themselves as conservative defenders of the status quo are the ones who are most disposed to accept the risks of war."

Professional economists may be indignant that Galbraith sometimes portrays their discipline as being only slightly more scientific than natal astrology or tea leaf interpretation. And historians may balk at his overly optimistic view of the early industrial revolution.

Also, from a left perspective, he seems to open himself to two additional criticisms. His assertion that "The great dialectic in our time is not, as anciently and by some still supposed, between capital and labor; it is between economic enterprise and the state" may raise a few eyebrows in light of the extremely cozy relations between the two during the Reagan era. And his belief that Third World revolutions have not been directed against capitalism but "against the remnants of feudalism," neglects the fact that semi-feudal peripheral areas are the flip side of capitalist development in the metropolitan core areas.

For all that, *Economics in Perspective* is an extremely enjoyable and informative work by a uniquely qualified author. By his own admission, Galbraith has practiced this profession for one quarter of its existence as a systemized discipline. And, in a field where authors seem to be esteemed in direct proportion to their obscurity, he has been uncommonly prolific and accessible. ■

Rick Wilson is a writer living in West Virginia.

Power and Marxist Theory

By Jeffrey C. Isaac
Cornell University Press
248 pp., \$24.95

By James Petras

Pulling the plug on bad social science

JEFFREY C. ISAAC'S *POWER AND Marxist Theory* provides a useful survey and critique of much of the mainstream political science literature dealing with political power. He opens with a trenchant analysis of the behavioral pluralist school, basing his arguments on a realist philosophy-of-science approach. And his rigorous critique of empiricism, with its narrow focus on behavioral regularities divorced from structural relationships, may help nudge the political science mainstream out of its self-imposed irrelevance to the major social, economic, and political institutional crisis affecting contemporary Western societies.

Isaac delves into the inconsistencies between behavioral imperatives seeking human regularities and the abandonment of those same imperatives in the elaboration of pluralist discourses on the neutral, open and accessible state.

But he goes beyond criticizing the pluralists. He seeks to elaborate a

new political approach based on realist philosophy. Instead of focusing on behavioral regularities, the task of science as he sees it is "to isolate enduring causal mechanisms which produce them."

After establishing this alternative

MARXISM

philosophical basis, Isaac turns to his defense of Marxism's scientific validity as an approach to the study of power. Isaac argues that the concept of power is central to understanding the Marxist analysis of capitalism, not only in the analysis of the basic structure of capitalist class relations but also to the forms of economic and political organization of classes in their struggle.

Isaac offers a useful critique of positivism and behavioralism and an informative exposition of the debates within Marxism and their relevance to the study of power. Yet the book fails in its attempt to "reconstruct" Marxism. Isaac's effort to

ground the Marxist study of power in the realist perspective empties it of its historical dimension and comes close to the very empiricist deviationism that he criticizes.

The author (like most writers whom he cites favorably concerning the central role of "the state") also fails to distinguish between regime (or government) and state (the permanent civilian/military officials who control the strategic military-economic levers of power). As a consequence, Isaac's advocacy of "causal pluralism" and his condemnation of classical Marxist views of class-determined politics are based on an empirical analysis of conjunctural and derivative phenomena (political regimes) and not on a historical analysis of underlying structures of power. This is unfortunate, because Isaac's initial formulation suggested he was undertaking a more profound analysis of power than that of his positivist adversaries.

Caught in a trap: Isaac seems

trapped between his initial theoretical intent and his eclectic and incoherent conclusion. In his haste to incorporate a multiplicity of new agents of change and to avoid the cardinal sin of "class reductionism," Isaac ends by finding power everywhere, and nowhere. His embrace of C. Wright Mills' view on the ascendancy of the military ignores both Sweezy's and Bell's critique of the power elite and defense of the ruling class concept. Isaac's critique of class as the agency for socialism leaves him with a series of fragmented social movements (ecology,

Jeffrey C. Isaac's rigorous critique may help nudge the political-science mainstream out of its self-imposed irrelevance to the major social, economic and political issues.

feminism, etc.) with no unifying basis, but a hope that they will join together.

And the argument for viewing liberal democracy as a goal in itself is confined to the nation-state, an unintelligible point given the centrality of the international political economy in the operation of contemporary U.S. capitalism. Also, the lack of discussion on the relationship between imperialism and electoral regimes leads to an exaggerated emphasis on hegemony and not genocide (e.g. Central America's 200,000 victims of U.S. political power) in describing the exercise of power under democratic capitalism.

Given all his calls for sustaining a rigorous line of reasoning, it is particularly difficult to understand Isaac's efforts to dissolve class analysis into the swamp of "causal pluralism" at this particular time in history. Certainly neither culture nor discourse has shaped the Reagan/Thatcher politics of redistribution to the rich, the privatization of industry, or the savaging of social welfare programs. The specter of class analysis hovers over reality and refuses to disappear. ■

James Petras is a professor of sociology at the State University of New York at Binghamton.

FILM



Politics takes a backseat in Philip Kaufman's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. Pictured: Juliette Binoche and Daniel Day-Lewis.

The Unbearable Lightness of Being

Directed by Philip Kaufman

By Pat Aufderheide

EASTERN EUROPE IS A SET OF IDENTITIES in search of national boundaries to contain them, and culture plays its role in shaping those identities in defiance of shifting political labels. The challenge and frustration for many Eastern European artists is to fathom the humanity within political turmoil, or, as some conceive it, to liberate art from political missionizing. Polish scriptwriter Boleslaw Michalek once told me in exasperation (he was recounting the making of *Man of Iron*) that the political context of artistic expression can become "like a millstone around your neck."

No one is more irascible, or high-handed (though perhaps he would like to think of it as high-minded), about this curse than Czech author Milan Kundera. His novel *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* is not just a novel of ideas, but a novel of revolt against the impudent impermanence of history in the face of what he struggles to hope are eternal verities.

Kundera hates the terms of modernist existentialism, and he's also in revolt against the institutionalized optimism of social progress built into the Communist state's agenda. The characters Kundera creates in the novel show his broad contempt for the later 20th century, and they're as much his victims as his symbols.

Character sketches: There's Tomas, the elegantly smug doctor who thinks he's been able to opt out of higher questions of meaning by cool professionalism as a surgeon and by clinically effective seductions. There's his understanding lover, Sabina, who loves him for his

resistance to the levelling slogans they grew up in, for being "the very opposite of kitsch." She hates her life in Czechoslovakia on the same aesthetic grounds. Communism is kitschy for failing to prize the weight of unique and intrinsic beauty, of art in its eternal sense. And then there's the archaic, sensual Tereza, whose earthy intensity overrides Tomas' cool stance of indifference.

Kundera's characters are exemplary figures in the narrator/author's own search for meaning. He draws their conflicts as cruelly warped by pathetic political struggles around Prague in 1968.

Kundera continually trips the reader at the edge of psychological involvement, by breaking the narrative, by telling the end of the story in the middle, and by a coolly peremptory prose. If you even begin to wonder about the neurotic dependency of Tereza, or about Tomas' blind self-involvement, or about Sabina's haughty contemptuousness, or if you start to wonder how Kundera feels about women, you're in the wrong novel.

Gone Hollywood: It's not the kind of book that cries out to be a movie—certainly not a mainstream American movie by a director who justly won fame for his work in *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* and *The Right Stuff*. But Philip Kaufman was fascinated. But then again, Kaufman is hardly the typical Hollywood type. He started his career late, after playing intellectual hippie around the world, and made his reputation on the unusually interesting but box-office-wan films like *The Great Northfield, Minnesota Raid* and *The White Dawn*.

"I just love the way Kundera views the world in this book, an erotic story with politics somehow in the background," Kaufman told critic John Powers in the *L.A. Weekly*. "He's

Being and sexiness: Philip Kaufman and new Kundera light

concerned with ordinary people—people who are swept away by history, but who are still ordinary." It could be argued of course that Kundera was not writing about ordinary people at all, but about ideas as exercised by his deliberately stick-figure characters. And for Kundera politics isn't in the background but an ever-present blight on the struggle to be human. But Kaufman has neatly phrased a base-level American understanding of the relationship between individuals and history, between personal and political life.

In the New World, the Eastern European quest for meaning and identity is as foreign as Russian tanks in the street. Not that the question of who we are, and why we're here, doesn't bother us as much as the next person. But the American sense of living beyond history in a world of personal opportunity and ambition is as old as the Puritan vision of a New World, and as recent as "morning in America."

The creation of instant culture that appears kitschy and a betrayal of values in Eastern Europe drives America's vital pop culture. The cool elitism that Kundera assumes in his search for values beyond the modern rush of productivity and consumption has always been a contested stance in American culture. And in the heart of late capitalism, the implications of a state-run cultural apparatus that enforces bureaucrat-approved

populism is an alien political concept that has nothing to do with where we live.

Critical punch: Kaufman is no unabashed supporter of American commercial populism. From the revisionist bandit story of *The Great Northfield, Minnesota Raid* to his remake of *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, which terrifyingly remade the conformism-terror of the original, to *The Right Stuff*, which he intended as a criticism of state-managed space spectacle, Kaufman's always been one of the most thoughtful of mainstream film directors. He's been able to deliver thrills, punches and drama while also putting a frame around the thrills.

As someone whose first film love was New Wave European film, Kaufman's always aspired to make films both popular and substantial. And he has his own criticisms of American kitsch, not just as a commercial product but one enthusiastically received by a broad public. As he told Powers: "In our time, films keep pumping you full of something bad that you've already eaten. How can you have good films, much less a real democracy, if this is happening to audiences?"

The Unbearable Lightness of Being, at a weighty three hours, ends up an uneasy mix of Kaufman and Kundera. Uneasy, and weighty, but not unworkable. Just strange beyond comprehension. Kaufman's

weight simply isn't Kundera's.

Pieces of the picture: This is a film that you remember in delicious pieces: images, scenes, recurring symbols. And what pieces they are: a complex remounting of the Russian invasion of Prague (done in grainy black and white), as Tereza circulates taking photographs, is itself a commentary on impermanence and return. The images that flooded international news in 1968 recur, this time as powerful symbols of danger, repression and the crushing of hope. History rumbles over the characters as the tanks do, but the moment echoes down through to today. (Gone from the movie and that sequence in particular is Kundera's acerbic take on the West's momentary fashion for victimized Czechoslovakia, passing with the next headline.)

The movie's longest sequence could stand alone—in fact, it does. Potent as the scene is, it's also the biggest rupture in a languidly-told tale. Tereza visits Sabina's art studio/apartment, which is full of mirrors that reflect Sabina's own ironic sophistication. Tereza shatters the atmosphere with her unfashionable sensuality. The two women pose for each other as models, and the session turns into an aggressive, and finally passionate, exchange, more passionate indeed than any of the film's open heterosexual lovemaking, and more explicitly about power.

Kaufman ingeniously enters long and sometimes meditative takes with funny, impertinent openings. And time and again, you watch moments that stand alone as loving statements to something—sometimes you're not sure what, but you don't really care. (Sven Nykvist's entrancing cinematography sometimes stands on its own as well.) For instance, in Tereza's spa town, we watch a group of overweight men in the swimming pool. They're playing chess with the ponderous gravity of aging men, made gently comic in the buoyancy of the spa waters. Splash! and Tereza breaks up the chess game when she swims obliviously across the pool.

In search of love: The round robin of the characters' passion makes for a film where sexuality is given a rare weight, an exercise not in love but in the search for it. That sense is sharpened when you watch Tereza with a casual lover—she's experimenting, miserably, with casual sex—and Sabina with her all-too-earnestly-good substitute lover. It's an achievement when a director can evoke the feeling of bad sex without scuttling interest in the characters, or souring the film's central sensuality.

These aren't "ordinary people," but they are flesh-and-blood, each actor creating—often in spite of a literalist script by Jean-Claude Carrière with Kaufman—plausible

characters with motives for their decisions. Daniel Day-Lewis (remembered for his role as the gay punker in *My Beautiful Laundrette*) is a younger, more impudent Tomas than in the book, and his insouciance makes it easy to sidestep his imperial sexual attitudes. Juliette Binoche's Tereza melds pathos and power in her eternally innocent sensuality. Lena Olin's Sabina looks more vulnerable than the novel's cool Sabina, and more commonplace as the I-want-my-independence artist fighting for gallery space in every Western city.

The psychological plausibility of the characters supplants Kundera's intellectual drama. The personal is in the foreground of this movie, and the political is a trigger that moves a plot, the very plot that Kundera kept sabotaging. Despite the film's slow storytelling that allows Kaufman to savor symbolic detail and echo, and emphasize the intense confrontation with self and other, you still want to know: What happened then? And no wonder: this isn't a movie with something to say but a lot to show. In the end, the movie resolves along the happy-ending lines of a Hollywood movie, with careful qualifications that cite its source in Eastern Europe.

Personal and political: Kaufman himself was concerned not to make an anti-Communist movie, and the film does avoid that, by neatly excising Kundera's savage, total indictment of Communism as kitsch. Czech bureaucrats and intellectual decision-makers are cowards and fools, and Russians are aging thugs and lost-boy soldiers. But although they have a powerful effect on the lives of the characters, the confusions and conflicts that propel the central characters' search for love belong to themselves. The story's been recast as Kaufman describes it: as the tale of ordinary people "swept away by history."

In the most basic ways, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* doesn't make sense. However, moments and scenes and characters make not sense but poetry, a kind of poetry that you rarely see in the movies. It takes money and connections to turn talent and courage into wide-screen art. Although Kaufman didn't find it easy to get this oddest of erotic epics made, he could dare to try on a scale few can. (He got backing from producer Saul Zaentz, who with *Amadeus* and *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* took big artistic gambles to huge box-office payoff.) And if the film uneasily joins the different preoccupations of an Eastern European intellectual and a Hollywood artist, it never errs on the side of safety.

Kaufman has transmogrified Kundera's deep intellectual pessimism into a profound sensual joy on screen. And that irrational, inexplicable fount of optimism buoys the movie past its irreconcilable differences of vision.

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Stetsasonic's anti-apartheid rap up: that's edu-tainment

By Mark Sommer

BROOKLYN RAP GROUP STETSASONIC's new record, "A.F.R.I.C.A." is part entertainment and part education, according to group leader Daddy-O. He calls it, "edu-tainment." Like Little Steven's anti-apartheid anthem, "Sun City," "A.F.R.I.C.A." includes a powerful video and study guide to help get an anti-apartheid message over the airwaves and into the classrooms.

The record was inspired by a trip Rev. Jesse Jackson made to southern Africa's frontline states in the summer of 1986. Fragments of a Jackson speech open the record.

his Drums of Passion. The video images reflect the song's lyrical intensity.

"A.F.R.I.C.A." expresses how we feel about what's going on over there," says Daddy-O. "Being from Brooklyn, we're used to seeing people killed from crack or being shot up; it's like a mirror held up to us every day. But learning that Angola is the amputee capital of the world because of anti-government forces supported by us and South Africa is no joke...This is our way of doing something."

Revelation was televised: Daddy-O says the group learned about Jackson's visit to the frontline states from a segment on

Against Racism" concerts the past four summers in New York, performed "Sun City" in New York's

"A.F.R.I.C.A.," like "Sun City" before it, is a benefit.

Central Park with Little Steven, Bono, Fela, and others, and last year performed "A.F.R.I.C.A." in Washington, D.C. at the peace and justice rally before more than 100,000 people.

"A.F.R.I.C.A.," like "Sun City" before it, is a benefit with all proceeds going to The Africa Fund. Money



Jesse Jackson with Brooklyn's Stetsasonic crew: rapping to get the message through.

And a sparse rhythm kicks in after Jackson's righteous anger charges "our nation at its lowest would have partnership with South Africa. It's a moral disgrace!" Stetsasonic begins by chanting the names of South Africa's neighbors, and goes on to draw attention to the undeclared war being waged against them by Pretoria. The six rappers and musicians who compose the group are joined by Nigerian percussionist Babatunde Olatunji and

ABC's 20/20. He says his group's young audience is more apt to be listening to RUN-DMC and the Beastie Boys than watching 20/20. But he says the group's fans seem to like the record, and other rappers have told him they, too, now want to talk about South Africa.

Stetsasonic has a reputation for performing at benefits for a variety of issues—and in a variety of locations, including day-care centers and prisons. They have done "Rock

raised from this record will aid humanitarian relief projects for people living in the frontline states. The Africa Fund's project coordinator, Marcia McBroom Landess, says the study guide they have developed for grades junior high and up is geared to provide information on apartheid's devastating consequences, and show ways to oppose it. Like the record insert, the study guide also provides information on each of the frontline states, discus-

ses the economic and military war leveled against them by Pretoria, and explains the regional alliance these countries have made to escape South Africa's control of industry, trade and transport.

"The 'Sun City' guide continues to do very well, and that is why we were inspired to do another one," says McBroom Landess. "This guide is easy to read, very informative, it includes photographs and a glossary, a message from the Stet, and it really focuses on the plight of children in these countries. They're torturing, maiming, and killing children, and we want the reader to become aware—and enraged."

"At the end of the guide," says McBroom Landess, "we've included things people can do and are doing, because it's not enough to just be aware of the situation; we want to encourage them to act."

Video education: Loretta Williams, who directs public policy work for the Unitarian Universalist Association, says she is already using the video with youth groups, and it's effective. "I think it's a valuable addition to the repertoire of materials that are out there. This isn't just another kind of depressing picture of what's happening. It's dynamic, and it's about people working to change things and their determination to be free."

Stetsasonic's Daddy-O says it was important to the group that Jesse Jackson be on the record. "Jesse's very influential in the black community. Originally he wanted to do it live with us, but his schedule didn't permit it. But we did perform it with him in Chicago at a reception for [African National Congress leader] Oliver Tambo. It was amazing! There were people there 8 to 80, and it was the first time I saw gray-haired ladies dancing to rap!"

Jackson's voice can also be heard on the flip side of the 12" single in a rap called "Free South Africa," by Tack Head. He is heard along with Tambo, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere commenting on the freedom struggle for southern Africa. The record is also dedicated to the late President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

When the record debuted recently, it was played simultaneously across the country on over 100 black and urban radio stations as well as in Mozambique. It's also been featured on 20/20. Still, "A.F.R.I.C.A." co-producer Rick Dutka says that because "the record's got a strong black sound and is very political, it isn't expected to get as much exposure if it were neither of those things."

To obtain the "A.F.R.I.C.A." record, video and teaching guide, and the "Sun City" teaching materials, contact The Africa Fund, 198 Broadway, Suite 402, New York, NY 10038, (212) 962-1210.

Mark Sommer is a Boston-based freelance writer.

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Nicaragua

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through a Sandinista-allied cooperative. On the ground it's a mirror of the old share-cropper system, to the extent that the *campesino* assumes all the risk of planting and harvest, with the important exception that he is not already committed to selling off a part of his harvest to the landowner. (There are other cases where *campesinos* farm enough land to harvest a large surplus for sale, with the stipulation that they sell part of their harvest to the state purchasing agency, ENABAS. The "rent" they pay for their land is the difference between what ENABAS pays for their crop and what they can make on the black market. Undoubtedly too many *campesinos* unable to resist too much temptation makes for disappointing harvests, and shortages at the MILCOIN.)

Within this system is a political decision to redistribute as much arable land as possible and reverse the years of "marginalization" of the poor. Within the system, as well, is a terrible contradiction. The Sandinistas stand accused of gross mismanagement of their farm sector, clearly their country's most essential. Even the policy of distributing land to the landless has had an unexpected side effect: a shortage of migrant laborers to harvest the export crops, such as coffee and cotton. Reduced export income means lower profits to reinvest in the farm economy, the capital needed for machinery, pesticides and fertilizers. And if you are a government committed to building up the small cooperatives, if necessary at the expense of the large, independent estates—and the FSLN is—then ultimately a decision will have to be made to favor small, subsis-

tence plots like Carlito's over ones producing for the export market.

Meanwhile inflation is running at 600 percent or better, rendering almost worthless the *cordobas* raised in the internal market, and making the price of imported chemicals and machinery dearer still. After four or five years of this the big, efficient farms find themselves unable to make a profit of any kind. Some hang on, losing money, others are abandoned, and then are appropriated by the Sandinistas.

The obvious risks in this type of system are that large producers will go outside the legal (taxable) market, seeking what profits they can from speculators. Or worse, eventually too much of the country's farming will be done by those least equipped to absorb the costs of securing a harvest. Carlito is already cutting so many corners in trying to bring in his crop, what would happen in a nation of Carlitos? Famine is not a remote possibility. Up to now these are risks the Sandinistas have been willing to take. The government is unwilling to risk losing the *campesino* loyalists. It is a political decision, certainly, but also a religious one. It is a literal example of 'exercising a preferential option for the poor' discussed at Medellin, and the root from which all of the theology of liberation rises. In the past three years the FSLN banks have forgiven thousands of small farm loans when drought or a bad harvest wiped out a *campesino's* ability to repay. More mismanagement, perhaps, but that is the cost of vigilance against backsliding to an era when rural society was divided between the haves and the have-nots.

"The project": The story of how Nicaragua's strongest movements—Sandinista, the theology of liberation, the

counter-revolutionary war—are woven together takes place back in Carlito's fields. Carlito exemplifies what the Managua propagandists call Nicaragua's "new men." Ask Carlito if he's a *nuevo hombre* and he'll laugh at the joke. But in Pilas he is something special. He is the product of the community, and not just in the psychoanalytical sense. He is their "project," and all of the community has a stake in his success.

His fields come not from land administered by the state but from CEPA, part of five cooperatives loosely federated with the Christian base communities. While there is apparently no loyalty test in Pilas—membership in neither the communities nor the Sandinista front is a requirement for joining the cooperatives—the town is too small for there to be very many lone wolves, and as it happens the overlap between revolutionary Christians and cooperative members is rather large. In fact, the relationship between the community and the Alberto Gutierrez Cooperative is the same relationship, writ small, as that between the Sandinista front and the radical church.

Risky business: The eight years of Sandinista rule are also the same eight years Carlito has spent becoming a "delegate of the word." He made his decision in the last days of the Somoza dictatorship, just before his 12th birthday. It is not easy for a North American to imagine the gravity of such a decision. In the last two years of the Somoza dictatorship, hundreds of delegates had been murdered by the National Guard. Indeed, so many catechists, priests and lay workers had been persecuted that, in some villages, religious life ground almost to a standstill. At the same time, Carlito was making the transformation from "fed"—a hungry half-worker who costs more than he can earn—to feeder, in *campesino* terms the fullest measure of adulthood. All this at a time of profound social change in Rivas—an armed revolt followed by a revolutionary new regime. Yet he was ready to step out on a road whose signposts are the very slogans of the revolution.

In Pilas, delegates train in Friday night discussion groups held at the home of Juana Gonzalez Ruiz. She, too, was one of Padre Gaspar's catechists, and is herself a delegate of the word, and vice-chair of the sewing cooperative.

As in all seminaries, rigorous Bible study is an important part of the course. The "preferential option for the poor" that is at the heart of liberation theology is taken literally, to the extent that every book, chapter and verse can be interpreted as giving strong endorsement to popular rebellion. In Central America whole masses and songbooks are devoted to the "religion of the *campesino*" where parables of the Bible are applied to *campesino* life.

But becoming a delegate of the word in Pilas requires something more than the ability to read rebellion into the Good Book. For Carlito and those before him, it means undertaking a process of self-discovery. Community service must be demonstrated, as well as personal sacrifice. It is years of learning the confidence to take a leading role in the community—not an easy concept for an unwed *campesino* mother in her teens, like Juana—in Bible study or petitioning El Senor for a better split of the harvest, or challenging God for the answers to why there is so much pain in their lives. Carlito is the pride of the community. The change from the most timid peasant ashamed almost to tears of his patched clothes and bare feet to the man

who can stand up and take a leading role is made, not born. "You should have seen him then," beams Alejandra, nearly bursting with pride. "He wouldn't even talk. Nobody thought he would stick it out."

Indeed, a glimpse of the old Carlito can be seen when his voice drops below a whisper, a little mouse-squeak, when he checks to see if his two words of English, "sank you," are correct. He can be seen in Rufino, five years younger than Carlito but already stooped into middle age, who runs behind the house in fright when Donna and I try to ask him a question.

And, in the final analysis, that is why Carlito was chosen—with all the odds against him—to farm with the cooperative. The old Carlito would already be crushed by the odds, slinking back to the *hacienda* to chop weeds for wages, or hitting the road for eight months on the harvest circuit. "Today, Lord, we are hungry—for work, shelter and bread..." read the words of "Comunion," one of the hymns in Carlito's book *Songs of My People*. "Give us now your body and blood, and the strength to fight." All of a revolution are in these words: We are hungry, master. Give us The Lord's strength to fight for our lives.

Our group spent its last night in Managua, back at Casa Colorado. Our final "reflection" (the name Maria gave our end-of-day Bible reading and round-table talk) began with a passage from the New Testament, Matthew Chapter 19, verses 13 and 14.

They brought children for him to lay his hands on them with prayer. The disciples rebuked them, but Jesus said to them, "Let the children come to me; do not try to stop them; for the kingdom of Heaven belongs to such as these."

Donna and I spent one last night in Managua at the old Somoza mansions. We joined a delegation of church workers visiting Nicaragua from the U.S. and the Dominican Republic. Two Episcopal priests, Father Henry and "Father" Maria, a Guatemalan woman who now spreads the gospel as a chaplain in the New York state prison system, led us in a reading from the Book of Matthew, Carlito's favorite.

Christ and revolution: After staying in Pilas one remains at a loss to speak of the "big picture" where Nicaragua is part of a headline in the *New York Times*. Who can argue against a kingdom pledged to assist the poor? Who can forget how far away that kingdom is, how long and hard the road ahead?

"You know," says Father Henry, "In some versions this chapter starts 'Some people brought their children forward.' Who are 'some people?' They're the poor, those who have no name, who don't matter. That's the first thing you lose when you're poor in Latin America, your identity. That you're unimportant is something you learn over and over again every day until you die."

Nicaragua is not the only country in Latin America where discussions take place, but it is still the only one where hundreds of government workers, farmers, soldiers, dentists and truck drivers are trying to live its themes. It is one of the few where ideas—of reform, of justice—can be discussed freely, and made into public policy.

And so hundreds of Christians come to Nicaragua from Europe and the U.S. and the rest of Latin America, to learn about trying. Many leave as the CEPA trainees leave, intent on effecting social changes at home. In that way, yes, Nicaragua is a threat to its neighbors. And also their hope. □

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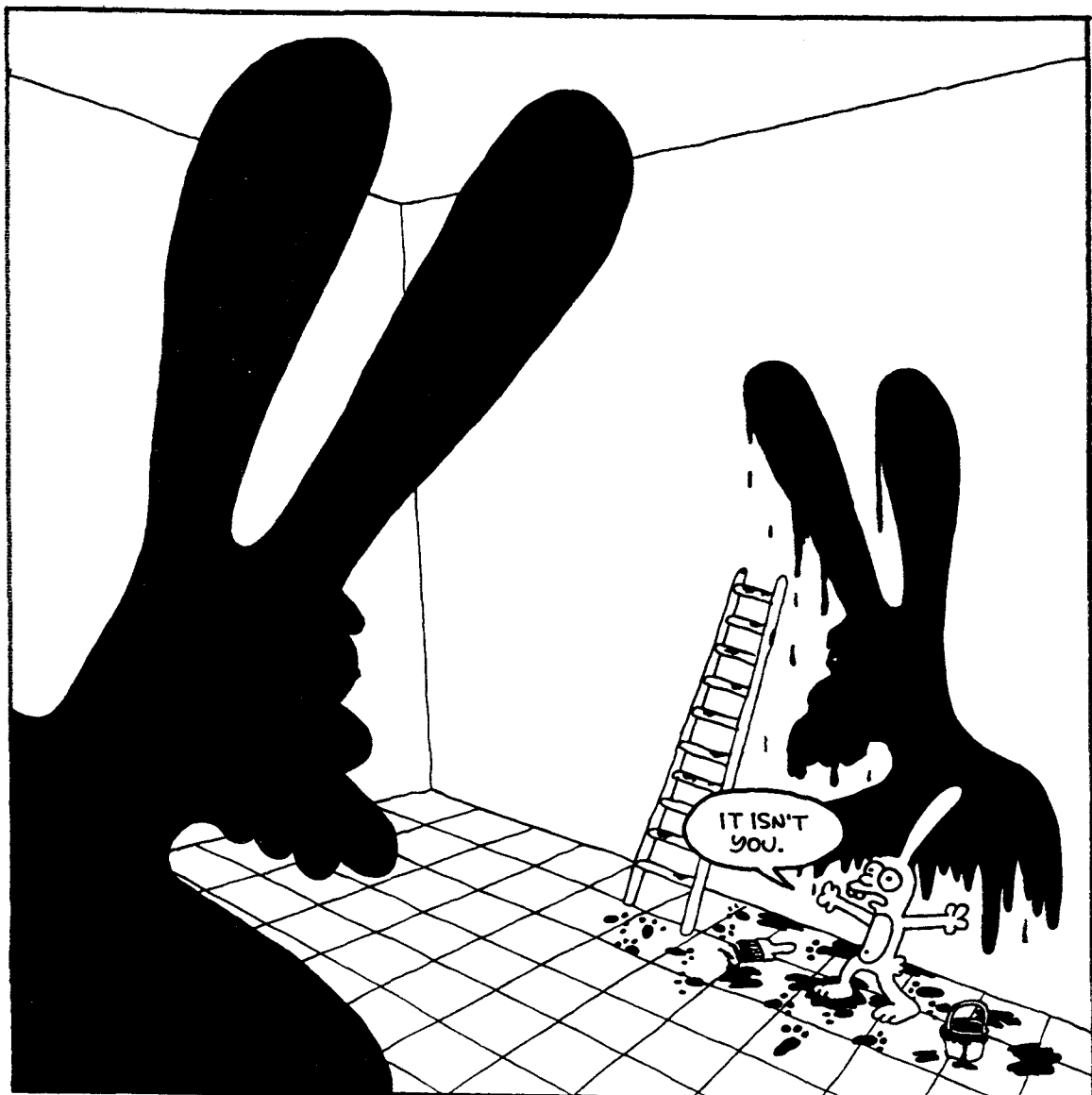
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IN WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED A COMPLAINT-cum-preemptive strike, 48 black writers and critics recently signed a public statement protesting the literary establishment's failure to appropriately reward Toni Morrison, author of five novels including the critically acclaimed *Beloved*.

"Despite the international stature of Toni Morrison, she has yet to receive the national recognition that her five major works of fiction entirely deserve," the letter reads. "She has yet to receive the keystone honors of the National Book Award or the Pulitzer Prize. We, the undersigned black critics and black writers, here assert ourselves against such oversight and harmful whimsey."

The statement, which appeared in the January 24 edition of the *New York Times Book Review*, was accompanied by another letter bemoaning the failure to award the late James Baldwin those same "keystone" honors. The letter, passionate and ornate, speaks of a "grief that goes beyond our sorrow at his death.... We grieve because we cannot yet assure that such shame, such national neglect will not occur again, and then again."

The documents, both composed primarily by poet June Jordan with some assistance from University of Pennsylvania English professor Houston A. Baker Jr., were inspired by the outpouring of emotion and regrets expressed at Baldwin's December 8 memorial service at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City. Baldwin died December 1 of stomach cancer in southern France. "How shall we explain the exile of this man who wanted to be loved so much at home?" the letter asks.

The notion that black writers are seldom granted their due by the white literary establishment is not a new one. What's new is the concerted aggressiveness with which that establishment is being challenged. Included among the four dozen signers of the statement praising Morrison are writers who seldom find agreement elsewhere: hard-core socialists like Amiri Baraka are listed with romantic poets like Lucille Clifton, feminists (or "womanists") like Alice Walker and nationalists like Eugene Redmond. "After the letter—I prefer to call it a love poem—was composed it was forwarded to key people in different parts of the country," explains Baker. "The signers were a wide-ranging group, and the move was absolutely historic and structure-breaking."

Black writers, like writers everywhere, are independent spirits, traditionally averse to group endeavors. But the lonely death of such a towering figure as Baldwin who, though widely acknowledged as a writer of great power and skill, had never received a major literary award, provoked considerable anger among those he influenced most profoundly. It was his treatment by this country's arbiters of literary merit that forged this unprecedented unity of black writers.

Rising expectations: Pulitzer Prize winners will not be announced until March 31, but Morrison's lavishly praised new novel, *Beloved*, has already lost out in two of literature's most prestigious awards (although the book was a finalist for both honors). The 1987 National Book Award was presented to Larry Heinemann's Vietnam novel *Paco's Story*, and Philip Roth's *The Counterlife* won the National Book Critics Circle Award.

BELOVED AUTHOR TONI MORRISON



Is excellence its own reward?

To some, this protest seems somewhat out of historical sync. After all, black writers (at least, black female writers) are currently riding a wave of popularity. Black poet Rita Dove won a Pulitzer last year for her book *Thomas and Beulah* and Alice Walker won in 1983 for *The Color Purple*. Morrison herself won the Circle Award 10 years ago for *Song of Solomon*, and her other works, *The Bluest Eyes*, *Sula* and *Tar Baby* have all been big sellers.

Receptive publishers: What's more, black writers have seldom found publishers more receptive than in the last 10 years or so. Works by Gayl Jones, John Edgar Wideman, Richard Perry, Octavia Butler, Paule Marshall, Gloria Naylor, Ntozake Shange, Charles Johnson, Adrienne Kennedy, Toni Cade Bambara, David Bradley, Jamaica Kincaid and many others have found their way into print. For black women writers in particular the last 15 years have been extraordinarily productive; they are now the dominant voices in African-American literature.

Just as the black social movement of the '60s became more insistent during a period of rising expectations, so it is too with writers. The explosion of published

works by black authors apparently has energized and emboldened the African-American literary community. "The legitimate need for our own critical voice in relation to our own literature can no longer be denied," the 48 signatories note. "We, therefore, urgently affirm our rightful and positive authority in the realm of American letters and, in this prideful context, we do raise this tribute [to Morrison]...."

Amiri Baraka, who eulogized Baldwin at the emotional memorial service, says the statement is an indication of the African-American community's growing confidence and maturity. "Many of us now realize that it is our duty to register outrage at the system of white supremacy that consistently devalues our best creative artists. And more than that, he adds, "we want to go on record for paying tribute to those writers we value while they live."

Endorsing tokenism: Not surprisingly, these documents have created some controversy. The response of *Washington Post* columnist Jonathan Yardley is typical: "Since the suggestion has been made that Morrison has failed to win a major prize because she is black, are we now to understand she should be given one because

she is black?" he asked in a January 26 column. "...However much we may sympathize with their [the signers of the statement] feelings, we must not let this blind us to the rather less attractive implications of their protest."

Yardley argues contrarily that Morrison's *Beloved* has been a great success. Like all of her other novels, he says, it was the "recipient of extravagant, indeed excessive, reviews, and spent a number of weeks on the best-seller lists." Race, Yardley adds, has nothing to do with the giving of awards and "to suggest as much is nothing except dangerous self-delusion." But in Yardley's eagerness to defend the arbiters of literary merit, it is he who appears deluded. To exclude race as a factor is to ignore this country's racist traditions; even the *Washington Post* can't get away with that.

Black novelist Ishmael Reed also criticizes the statement, but for completely different reasons. "To complain about not getting an award from the white male literary establishment is to give credence to tokenism," Reed contends. "It's an old colonial ploy to award one exceptional native to keep the rest of the natives happy. If they really wanted to do an effective protest, they could start their own book awards."

"Those so-called literary awards are actually set up by representatives of the publishers and thus they are more concerned with commercial considerations than with literary ones," he adds. "Even self-respecting white authors are abandoning those phony, award-giving rituals, and it's really embarrassing to see so many allegedly intelligent black writers giving credibility to dying institutions. But I guess, for many of them, the only writing they ever do is sign petitions," he says. Reed also criticized the documents' writing style as "antiquated, 19th-century prose."

Reed's gripe goes deeper than his objection to the protest by the 48 writers. He has passionately argued the view that there is a literary conspiracy to elevate black women writers at the expense of black men. This plot, he contends, is part of a concerted social effort to isolate and stigmatize black males as brutish, even criminal, chauvinists. By Reed's reckoning, Alice Walker's *The Color Purple* was a major manifesto of this conspiracy, and won the Pulitzer Prize only to ensure that it would be widely read.

His 1986 novel, *Reckless Eyeballing*, was a thinly disguised attack on Walker, feminism and the white literary establishment that he contends uses black women to serve its socio-political purposes. Reed's lack of enthusiasm about the statement praising Morrison has to be considered in that light.

But Reed's ulterior motives should not completely discredit his objections to the protest letters. For one thing, his criticism of the writing style is not entirely off base. Consider the following sentences: "And so we write, here, hoping not to delay, not to arrive, in any way, late with this, our simple tribute to the seismic character and beauty of your writing. And furthermore, in grateful wonder at the advent of *Beloved*, your most recent gift to our community, our country, our conscience, our courage flourishing as it grows, we here record our pride, our respect and our appreciation for the treasury of your findings and inventions."

Say what? ■